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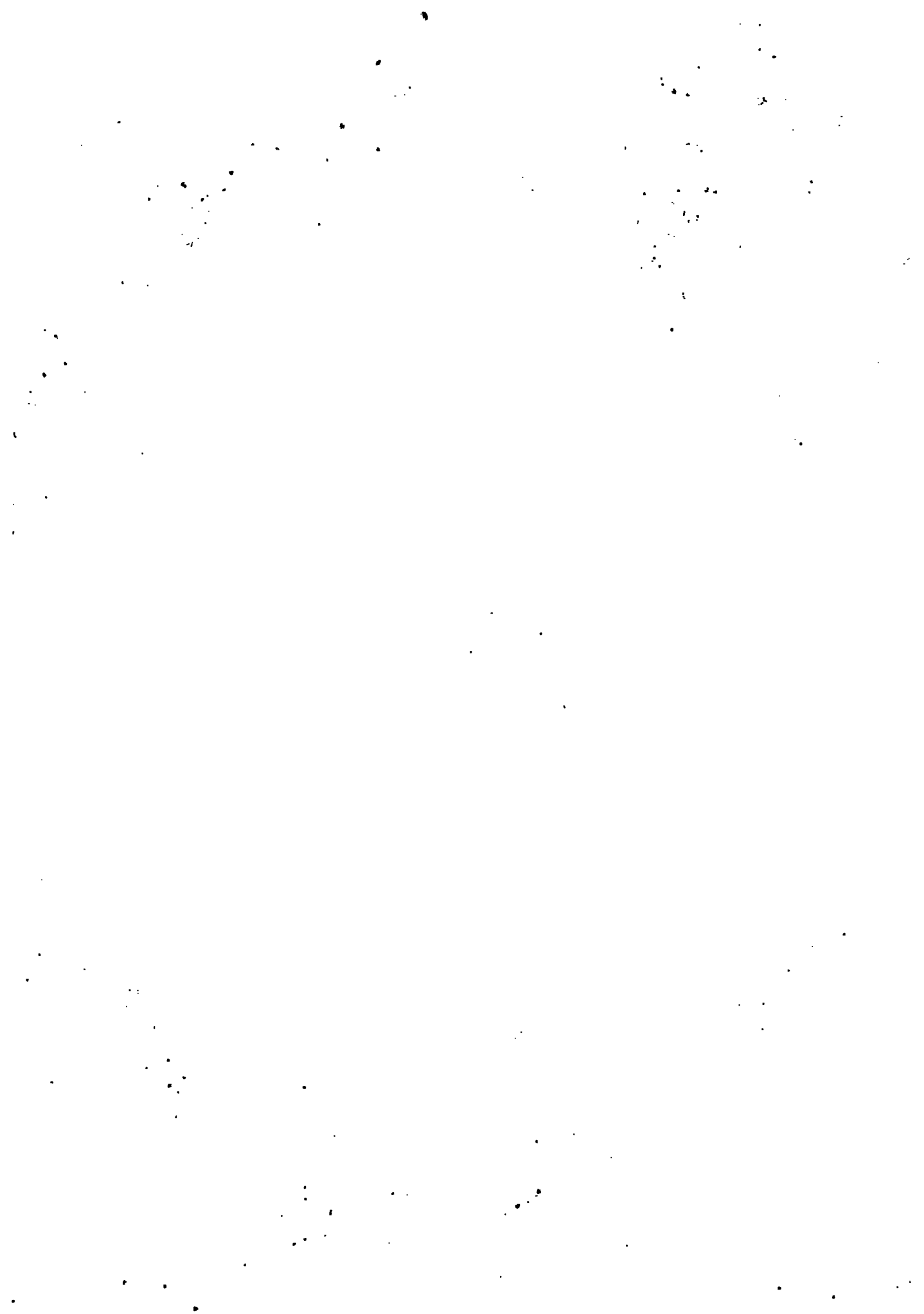
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Established May 25th, 1858.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER
AND
AMERICAN COLONIZATION.



Boston:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,
By JOHN WILSON AND SON.
1873.



TEN COPIES, LARGE PAPER.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES, SMALL PAPER.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER

AND

AMERICAN COLONIZATION.

INCLUDING

THREE ROYAL CHARTERS; A TRACT ON COLONIZATION; A
PATENT OF THE COUNTY OF CANADA AND OF LONG
ISLAND; AND THE ROLL OF THE KNIGHTS
BARONETS OF NEW SCOTLAND;
WITH ANNOTATIONS

AND A

MEMOIR

By THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, A.M.



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P R E F A C E.



IN presenting this volume to the members of the Prince Society, a few words are necessary.

The tract entitled an *Encouragement to Colonies*, published by Sir William Alexander in 1624, has been known and occasionally referred to by writers on American history; but copies of it have for a long time been exceedingly rare. It was at first proposed to print this tract, with such annotations as seemed to be necessary. On a careful investigation, however, it was found that the colonial enterprises of Sir William Alexander had been so imperfectly set forth in our general histories, that a volume embracing not only this tract, but the several charters of American territory which had been granted to him, and other related documents, together with a more complete Memoir than had hitherto been attempted, might prove a valuable contribution to American history. The preparation of such a volume was accordingly undertaken.

In the early part of January, 1872, the editor reported to the Council that the manuscript was ready for the press.

Some

Some delay followed in obtaining suitable paper, and in the necessary arrangements for printing. About the middle of April the copy was placed in the hands of Messrs. T. R. Marvin and Son, who had printed three preceding issues of the Society, in a manner eminently satisfactory, proving themselves to be among the most accomplished of American printers.

On the 9th and 10th of November, when the Great Fire occurred in Boston, one hundred and twelve pages of the volume had been struck off. These printed sheets, together with a quantity of paper, more than sufficient for the whole edition, which had been purchased by the Council, were destroyed by the fire. The Messrs. Marvins' printing-works shared likewise the same fate. The derangement of business that followed rendered it impossible to recommence printing before early in March of the present year, when the work was committed to Messrs. John Wilson and Son, of Cambridge, who had printed the second volume issued by the Society.

These facts furnish, it is believed, a sufficient apology for the long delay in the publication of the work after it was ready for the press. As some compensation for this delay and the considerable pecuniary loss sustained by the Society, it may be stated that the editor availed himself of the opportunity to incorporate into the Memoir some additional facts, and to correct several errors that had crept into the text.

The

Preface.

vii

The design of the Council in bringing out this volume has been to furnish the historical student, from authentic documents rendered into English, with full information relating to the efforts of Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER in behalf of American colonization. In the Memoir, the editor has aimed to give a complete but condensed outline of his life and character, and thus to show what social and political influences, as well as what personal energy, ability, culture, and learning he brought to bear in the advancement of his favorite scheme of planting colonies in America.

The attempts that were made after Cabot's discovery in 1497, and before success was actually achieved, had doubtless far more influence on the final establishment of colonies on our soil than has been apprehended by the casual reader, or admitted in the popular belief.

If this volume, as an historical monograph, shall serve in any degree to clear away the clouds that have obscured this period in colonial enterprise, and shall cause Sir William Alexander's connection with colonization in America to stand out more distinctly than it has in the past, and more truthfully and in its exact relations, the Council cannot fail to regard their purpose as having been satisfactorily achieved.

E. F. S.

BOSTON, 11 Beacon Street,
May 26, 1873.



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MEMOIR
OF
SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, KT.,
EARL OF STIRLING.



FIVE miles east of Stirling in Scotland, at the base of the Ochil hills, on a small stream in the shire of Clackmannan, reposes a little hamlet now for a long time distinguished for its manufacture of Scotch blankets. This was the ancient seat of the barons of Menstrie, and the village still bears that name. The barony was occupied by the family of Alexander at a period as early as 1485. They derived their name from Alexander Mac Donald, a younger son of the lord of the Isles, from whom they were descended, so runs the tradition, whose proper name they assumed. Alexander Alexander was the fifth baron of Menstrie, and died February 10th, 1580-1.

1580-1.¹ He had inherited the barony of Menstrie, nevertheless, under the Earl of Argyle as his superior, through Andrew his father, Alexander his grandfather, Andrew his great-grandfather, from Thomas Alexander, who flourished, as we have already intimated, somewhat before the year 1500. Sir William Alexander succeeded his father, Alexander Alexander, in this estate, and afterward obtained the fee and a charter under the great seal, and was the sixth Laird or Baron of Menstrie.² He was born about 1580,³ and was connected by blood, through female lines, with many of the most prominent titled families of Scotland. His fine endowments were apparent in early youth. His education was thorough and liberal, acquired, as is conjectured, at one of the Universities of Scotland, but no definite or positive information on this point has been obtained.

In early manhood he was selected to be the attendant and companion of the Earl of Argyle,⁴ with whom he travelled

on

¹ His will was confirmed on the 24th of May, 1581. — *Royal Letters, Charters, and Traits*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 9.

² For a genealogical account of the family, reference may be had to Sir Robert Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, and to other peerage-writers, under the title "Earl of Stirling."

³ An engraved portrait of Sir William Alexander is found in some copies of the edition of his poetical works published in 1637. Around the border is this inscription: VERA EFFIGIES GULIELMI COMITIS DE STERLIN, ÆTATIS SUÆ 57. If this was his age in 1637, as can hardly be questioned, since

he undoubtedly superintended the publication of that edition himself, his birth is properly inferred to have been in 1580.

⁴ Sir Robert Douglas, in the "*Peerage of Scotland*," says he "was pitched upon to travel with the Earl of Argyle, as a tutor and governor." But this is clearly an error. The eighth Earl was at this time not more than six or seven years of age, having been born in 1598, and consequently was too young to make the tour of Europe. The seventh Earl was several years the senior of young Alexander, and could hardly have received him as his tutor and governor, though he may have profited

by

on the continent, and perfected his education by adding to his other acquirements a knowledge of the French, Italian, and probably the Spanish language. He was married to Janet, daughter and heiress of Sir William Erskine, Knight, cousin-german to the Earl of Marr, the regent. By her he had eight sons and three daughters.

In his youth, it is said, while in his fifteenth year, young Alexander began the composition of a series of songs, sonnets, and elegies. At the age of twenty-three, he appeared before the literary world as a poet, publishing "The Tragedie of Darius," under his own name, which he denominated the "first essay of my rude and unskilfull muse in a Tragical poem." It was dedicated to Prince James of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, seasoned with royal compliments to the future king.

The author's apology to the reader, in this early edition, for the want of a complete purity of style, explains what is apparent in this, but which entirely disappears in his later and more elaborated works : —

"The

by his scholarly attainments. The following excerpt from the "Argyl Papers" furnishes the authority, we may presume, on which the statement has been made : —

"The Earl was bred a scholar, and, being esteemed a man of pregnant parts, made choice of to travail with Archibald, Earl of Argyle, called Gillespich Gromach, which he did into France, Spain, and Italy, when Mr. Alexander learned his language. He had particular genius to poetry, and upon his return was introduced by Prince Henry to the King."

The Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., Historiographer to the Historical Society of Great Britain, to whom we are indebted for this extract, as well as the substance of this note, is of opinion that this foreign travel took place between the Battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, when the Earl of Argyle commanded the Royal Forces, and 1603, when he reduced the Macgregors. It was, probably, before the year 1600, when Sir William Alexander was less than twenty years of age.

“ The language of this poeme is, as thou seest, mixed of
 “ the English and Scottish dialects ; which perhaps may be
 “ vnpleasant and irksome to some readers of both nations.
 “ But I hope the gentle and judicious Englishe reader will
 “ beare with me, if I retaine some badge of mine owne coun-
 “ trie, by vsing sometimes words that are peculiar therevnto,
 “ especially when I finde them proper and significant. And
 “ as for my owne countrymen, they may not justly finde fault
 “ with me, if for the more part I vse the English phrase, as
 “ worthie to be preferred before our owne for the elegancie
 “ and perfection thereof.”

In the reign of Elizabeth, under the influence of a galaxy of great men, such as Spenser and Sidney and Shakespeare, the English language suddenly advanced in all the elements of copiousness, richness, and refinement ; and the improvement did not cease to go forward down to a much later period. The scholarly culture and taste of Sir William Alexander led him to see its great superiority to his vernacular, and so far prevailed with him, that, in the later editions of the Tragedy of Darius, the Scottish dialect was wholly laid aside.

Most of his poems appear to have been written in the decade following 1603, but some of them were not published till several years later.

The following catalogue will indicate the order of their publication, and the form in which they first appeared :⁵—

The

⁵ These early editions are exceedingly rare, at least in this country : we are indebted, for the definite information which we have here given to Walpole's Royal

The Tragedy of Darius. Edinburgh, 1603. 4to.^a

A Parænesis to the Prince [*Παράνευσις, an exhortation*], the two tragedies, Cræsus, and Darius, and Aurora, a collection of sonnets. London, 1604. 4to.^b

The Aurora, with two other small poems addressed to His Majesty. London, 1604. 4to. pp. 94.^c

The Alexandræan, a Tragedie. 1605.

The Monarchicke Tragedies, Cræsus, Darius, the Alexandræan, and Julius Cæsar. London, 1607. 4to. pp. 408.^d A third edition, 1616.

Elegie on the death of Prince Henrie. Edinburgh, 1612. 4to. 4 leaves. The only copy known, says Nichols, is in the Univerfity Library, Edinburgh. *Vide* Nichols, Progress of James I., Vol. II. p. 505.

Doomsday, or the Great Day of the Lord's Judgement. Edinburgh, 1614. 4to. pp. 126. Also in London, same year.^e

Recreations with the Muses, containing the Tragedies, the Parænesis, the Doomsday; and Jonathan, an unfinished poem. London, 1637. folio.^f

It will be observed that, after 1616, he did not issue another edition till 1637. In a letter to William Drummond of Hawthornden, in 1620, he says, "All my Works are written over in one Book, ready for the Press, but I want leifure to print them." Amid the pressure of public and private bufinefs, as we fhall fee in the sequel, the opportunity did not present itself till 1637, when the Recreations

with

Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. V. p. 74, and to Lowndes's Bibliographers' Manual, IX. 2518. We give, for the gratification of the curious student, in the notes below, the prices at which they have been fold, as reported by Mr. Lowndes: ^a At 7s. 6d. to £2 2d. ^b At £2 1s. to £3 5s. ^c At £1 4s. ^d At 15s. to £3; a third edition in 1616, 16mo, pp. 334, at £1 7s. to £21; with portrait and motto, "Aut spero aut sperno," at £32 11s. ^e At £1 1s. to £4 4s. ^f At 10s. to £3 13s. 6d.; copies with a portrait of Sir William Alexander by Marshall, considered his *chef d'œuvre*, at £8 12s. 6d. to £50. See also Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica, London, 1815, pp. 307-10.

with the Muses, comprising his principal works, was printed in an elegant and sumptuous folio. The title-page of this edition was illuminated, and in some, probably presentation copies, appeared an engraved portrait of the author, by William Marshall, who engraved, from sketches made by himself, a large number of portraits; and, although not executed with extraordinary grace or skill, they are valuable on account of the distinguished personages they represent, and because in some instances, among which Sir William Alexander is probably one, no other portrait or likeness has come down to us.

Numerous sonnets by Sir William Alexander, not included in his collected works, are to be found scattered among the works of other poets.

The "Aurora, containing the first fancies of the author's youth," is a collection of sonnets and elegies, and the series is intended to constitute a poetic description or history of the varying fortune of love; and the author informs us in his dedication, that as they were the fruits of beauty, so they should be sacrificed as oblations to beauty, and he therefore inscribes them to Lady Agnes Douglas, Countess of Argyle.

The Monarchic Tragedies were constructed on the model of the ancient Greek tragedies, with acts and interluding choruses. We are not aware that the acts have ever been printed except in the original editions. The choruses, with all the other poems to which we have referred, are contained in the fifth volume of Chalmers's English Poets. From these choruses, which, according to the treatment of the Greek writers,

writers, are supposed to reflect the spirit and sentiment of the other parts, it is obvious that this form of composition was employed as a convenient medium of imparting to princes those fundamental maxims and principles of morality which lie at the foundation of all successful government, and whose fruits are the happiness and fidelity of the governed. They are consequently grave and didactic, dealing with the emptiness of human grandeur, the priceless quality of truth, the responsibility of power and wealth, and are wholly unsuitable for histrionic representation, for which, indeed, we have no reason to believe they were ever intended.*

In selecting this form of composition, the author was doubtless influenced by the prevailing taste of the age. Miracle-plays consisting of Scripture characters alone, and Moral-plays made up of allegorical personages, for a long time in vogue in England, had given place to Tragedies, which were clearly the most attractive and popular species of writing at that period. In its first conception, even Milton gave to his Divine epic, the *Paradise Lost*, the dramatic form. In the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, a manuscript in Milton's own hand is still preserved,

* Mr. Oldys says that the author of these tragedies "never designed to creep after any model of the ancients as to unities of action, or other rules of the drama. He calculated them not for the amusement of spectators, or to be theatrically acted, so much as for readers of the highest rank; who by the wisest counsels and cautions that could be drawn from the greatest examples, of the ill effects of misgovernment and confident reliance upon human grandeur, might be taught to amend their own practices, to moderate their own passions and their power over all in subjection to them; and if they have this end with such readers, to term them historical dialogues, or anything else, can be no discredit to them." — *Biographia Britannia*, London, 1778, p. 138.

served, in which the plan of the *Paradise Lost* is sketched, the *dramatis personæ* are given, and the whole divided into acts. Although Milton did not adhere to his original plan in the *Paradise Lost*, we may nevertheless conclude that the drama, even fifty years after the publication of Sir William's Tragedies, was not regarded as an unsuitable medium for conveying the lessons of morality, or the maxims of political wisdom.

The *Parænesis to Prince Henry* is a poem of 672 verses, elaborated with great care, and is perhaps the most classical of all his works. It is eminently didactic, replete with sound advice to the young heir-apparent, uttered with a dignified frankness unusual to the times. After the death of Henry in 1612, this poem was again issued with a dedication to Prince Charles, afterward Charles I., of England.

The *Doomsday*, a sacred poem, divided into twelve books or hours, is our author's great work. Like the Tragedies, it is heavy and prolix, and will hardly be read, except for its excellent spirit and sound wisdom. From this he received the title of the Divine poet. While it is true that no one will probably at this day become enthusiastic over the lines of Sir William Alexander, his poetry is, nevertheless, by no means destitute of merit. If he has not so much of the "sacred fire" as some others, he certainly has a high degree of culture; his lines flow with great smoothness, and he rarely violates the canons of good taste.

The English language of the early part of the seventeenth century differs widely from the English language of to-day.

It

It is hardly possible for the reader of our time, who has not made the literature of two hundred and fifty years ago a study, to catch the delicate shades or appreciate the rich flow of thought, either in prose or poetry, which come to us clothed in the stiff, antique dress of that period. But the contemporaries of Sir William Alexander had not this impediment, and they have left us the strongest proofs of their appreciation of his merits. Allowing much for friendship and a natural inclination to maintain the *esprit de corps*, the testimony is so uniform, that it is plain that he occupied a very high position in the opinion of his compeers, and that he exercised a salutary and important influence on the literature of his age.

He was one of the earliest, if not the first Scottish poet, who wrote in English verse. The three pioneers were Sir Robert Aytoun, Sir William Alexander, and William Drummond of Hawthornden. Aytoun published his *Diophrantus and Charidora*, consisting of 192 verses, somewhat earlier than the publication of the *Tragedy of Darius* by Sir William Alexander, which appeared in 1603. Alexander was by far the most voluminous writer, and probably did more than either of the others, by way of personal influence and example, to induce his countrymen to adopt the English language in writing, upon whom he did not hesitate to urge it as worthy to be preferred for its "elegance and perfection."

But let us see how he was regarded by his contemporaries, and by distinguished scholars of a later period.

The following lines of the English poet Drayton, though intended

intended to speak of him only as a friend, convey, incidentally, his high estimation of him as a poet:—

So Scotland sent us hither, for our own,
That man whose name I ever would have known
To stand by mine, that most ingenious Knight,
My Alexander, to whom in his right
I want extremely, yet in speaking thus
I do but show the love that was 'twixt us,
And not his numbers, which were brave and high,
So like his mind was his clear poesy.⁷

Sir Robert Aytoun, a Scottish poet, and favorite at the court of James I., whose graceful sonnets have been recently published by the Historical Society of Great Britain, has the following lines on Sir William's "Monarchick Tragedies:—"

Well may the programme of thy tragic stage
Invite the curious pomp-expecting eyes
To gaze on present shows of passed age,
Which just desert Monarchic dare baptise.
Crowns thrown from thrones to tombs, detomb'd arise,
To match thy muse with a Monarchic theme,
That whilst her sacred soaring cleaves the skies,
A vulgar subject may not wrong the same.
And what gives most of lustre to thy fame—
The worthiest Monarch that the sun can see,
Doth grace thy labours with His glorious name,
And deigns protector of thy birth to be.
Thus all Monarchic; patron, subject, style,
Make thee the Monarch-Tragic of this isle.⁸

The praise which poets bestow upon each other is too frequently exaggerated, and this may have been particularly
so

⁷ Anderson's British Poets, London, 1795, p. 549. ciety of Great Britain, London, 1871, Vol. I. p. 178.

⁸ Transactions of the Historical So-

so in the early part of the seventeenth century, and yet it was rarely given unless the eulogium rested upon a foundation of genuine merit.

When Mr. Johnstoun, in 1720, proposed to bring out a correct edition of the *Doomsday*, he placed the whole of Sir William's poetical works in the hands of Mr. Addison, for his perusal. In returning them Addison remarked: "*That he had read them over with the greatest satisfaction.*" And added: "That the beauties in our ancient English poets are too slightly passed over by the modern writers; who, out of a peculiar singularity, had rather take pains to find fault, than endeavour to excel."

Steele speaks of him in terms of commendation, and regrets that his works had not been more justly appreciated.⁹

We have not space for any extended examples of Sir William Alexander's poetry, but we venture to present two or three specimens. The following lines are from the last chorus in the tragedy of *Julius Cæsar*:—

Loe, prosperous Cæsar charged for a space,
Both with strange nations, and his country's spoiles,
Even when he seem'd by warre to purchase peace,
And roses of sweet rest, from thornes of toils;
Then whil't his minde and fortune swell'd most high,
Hath beene constrain'd the last distresse to trie.

What warnings large were in a time so short,
Of that dark course which by his death now shines?
It, speechlesse wonders plainly did report,
It men reveal'd by words, and gods by signes,
Yet by the chaynes of destinies whil't bound,
He saw the sword, but could not scape the wound.

Then

⁹ Spectator, No. 300.

Then let us live, since all things change below,
 When rais'd most high, as those who once may fall,
 And hold when by disasters brought more low,
 The mind still free, whatever else be thrall :
 Those lords of fortune sweeten every state,
 Who can command themselves, though not their fate.

In 1622 Dr. Abernethy, Bishop of Cathnes, published a work entitled "A Christian and Heavenly Treatise, containing Physicke for the Soule; very necessary for all that would enjoy true soundness of mind, and peace of conscience." The following characteristic lines by Sir William Alexander were prefixed to this work:—

Of known effects, grounds too precisely sought,
 Young naturalists oft atheists old do prove ;
 And some who naught, save who first moves, can move,
 Scorn mediate means, as wonders still were wrought.
 But temp'ring both, thou dost this difference even,
 Divine physician, physical divine,
 Who souls and bodies help'st ; dost here design
 From earth by reason, and by faith from heaven,
 With mysteries which few can reach aright,
 How heaven and earth are match'd and work in man ;
 Who wise and holy ends and causes scan.
 Lo true philosophy, perfection's height !
 For this is all that we would wish to gain,
 In bodies sound that minds may sound remain.

The following from the *Aurora* is, we think, a good specimen of his sonnets. It is among the last of the series, in which the writer aims to show how the "spring of love resembleth the uncertain glory of an April day," and that "the course of true love never did run smooth," and in which, also, we have a clear refutation of the idle fancy of
 Oldys

Oldys in the *Biographia Britannica*, who boldly represents these sonnets as personal to the young poet himself, and as descriptive of his unsuccessful addresses; but the reader of this, which closes the discussion with which the whole series has been occupied, will not fail to see that it paints success, and not failure:—

Long time I did thy cruelties detest,
And blaz'd thy rigor in a thousand lines ;
But now through my complaints thy virtue shines,
That was but working all things for the best.
Thou of my rash affections held'st the reins,
And spying dangerous sparkes come from my fires,
Didst wisely temper my enflamed desires,
With some chaste favours, mixt with sweet disdain ;
And when thou saw'st I did all hope despise,
And looked like one that wrestled with despair,
Then of my safety thy exceeding care
Shew'd that I kept thine heart, thou but thine eyes :
For whilst thy reason did thy fancies tame,
I saw the smoke, although thou hidst the flame.

Besides the poems to which we have already referred, the version of the Psalms of David, undertaken by King James, was completed by Sir William Alexander, and the credit of the performance, whatever it may be, properly belongs to him.

It appears that James I., in the later years of his life, had devoted some of his leisure hours to a version of the Psalms into metre. Having gone through with thirty-one¹⁰ of them,

¹⁰ "Hee was in hand (when God called him to sing psalms with the angels) with the translation of our church psalms, which hee intended to have finished, and dedicated withall to the onely Saint of his devotion, the Church of

them, he committed the rest to Sir William Alexander, by whom the work was completed.

Charles I., soon after the death of his father, appointed Sir William to "confider and review the meetre and poesie thair of," and referred the work thus perfected to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and other learned divines, for their opinion and advice as to its publication.

In January, 1627-8, the exclusive privilege, to continue for the space of twenty-one years, of printing a version of the Psalms of David by King James, was granted to Sir William Alexander. This privilege, it is distinctly stated, was bestowed as a compensation for the time and labor which he had bestowed in preparing the version for the press.¹¹

The first edition was published under the following title: "The Psalmes of King David translated by King James. *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis*. Oxford, 1631." It was a duodecimo of 329 pages.¹²

The Privy Council of Scotland was enjoined by Charles I. to allow no other version to be printed or imported into that Kingdom. This edition was handled with great severity

of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland. This worke was staied in the one and thirty Psalmes." See a Sermon, preached at the "Magnificent Funerall" of King James in St. Peter's at Westminster, May 7, 1625, by the Right Rev. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. — *Somers's Tracts*, edited by Walter Scott, Esq., London, 1809, Vol. II. p. 44.

¹¹ Calendar of State Papers, 1627, p. 524; also, Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, Vol. III. p. 530.

¹² This edition contained the following notice on the title-page: "Charles R. Having caused this translation of the Psalmes (whereof our late deare father was author) to be perused, and it being found to be exactly and truly done, wee doe hereby authorize the same to be imprinted according to the patent graunted therevpon, and doe allow them to be song in all the churches of our dominions, recommending them to all our goode subjects for that effect." — *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, by David Irving, Edinburgh, 1804, Vol. II. p. 259.

severity by the critics. Another edition was published in 1636, but so extensively revised as to be almost a new version.¹³ This was attached to the Scotch Service Book of 1637. The effort of Charles I. to force that book upon the Scotch was resisted, as a wiser ruler might have anticipated, and the whole Kingdom was thrown into a state of wild excitement.¹⁴ This attempt at an outward uniformity in the public worship of God, of so little value even if it were attained, and the exercise of his royal prerogative, a conceit as dangerous as it was false, in order to bring it to pass, were the beginning of a series of acts, which bore the unfortunate king steadily forward to his tragical end.

Sir William had a personal interest in the adoption of the Service Book by the Scotch,¹⁵ as it carried with it his version of the Psalms, the success of which would naturally be gratifying to him as the author, and might also bring to him a revenue as the holder of the copyright. His connection with

¹³ Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, Edinburgh, 1842, Vol. III. p. 529.

¹⁴ "A Prayer-Book was at that time used in Scotland; and the quarrel arose, not on the question of commanding the people to worship according to an adjusted form, but on the question of compelling them to abandon their own form, and adopt another prepared for them in a suspected quarter." — *Burton's History of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1871, Vol. VI. p. 404. Archbishop Spottiswood, one of the compilers of the Scottish Liturgy, in a letter to Bishop Hall, of Norwich, says, "I was desired to present your Lordship with one of the copies of our Scottish Liturgy, which is

formed so nigh the English as we could, that it might be known how we are nothing different in substance from that Church." — *Lawson's Episcopal Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1844, p. 495.

¹⁵ For some account of the Scottish Liturgy, see Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 399; Stephens's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 550; Balfour's Annals, Vol. II. p. 230. There is a copy of the Scotch Service Book, edition of 1637, in the Library of Harvard University. It does not, however, contain Sir William Alexander's version of the Psalms. A catch-word on the last page suggests that the text is incomplete, and probably the Psalms were omitted in binding.

with the undertaking was, however, greatly damaging to his popularity, and the enterprise was of necessity abandoned.

The writings in prose, left by Sir William, are letters and State documents, some of which have found their way into print; a tract entitled an Encouragement to Colonies, printed in this volume; the supplement of a defect in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*; ¹⁶ and the *Anacrisis*, a critique upon the poets.

The *Arcadia* was a romance left in manuscript by the author, published many years after his death, and had a great celebrity in its day. A hiatus appeared in the narrative, occasioned by the loss of a part of the original papers. The difficult task of supplying this deficiency was undertaken by Sir William Alexander, which he accomplished, carrying forward the thread of the story, and maintaining the dignity of the style, with eminent success. ¹⁷

The

¹⁶ It was published in a distinct volume, under the title of "A supplement of a Defect in the Third Part of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Dublin, 1621; folio." It was soon after incorporated into the body of the work. It supplied 33 pages. See Works of Sir Philip Sidney, London, 1724, pp. 588-623. The editor of the thirteenth edition declares the *Arcadia* to be the "most celebrated Romance that was ever written." It was translated into the French, Dutch, and other European languages. Anthony Wood speaks of it as a "Book most famous for rich concepts and splendor of courtly expressions."—*Athenæ Oxonienses*, London, 1721. If in all respects Sir William's Supplement is not equal to the original, we may be reminded of the

observation of the editor of the edition of 1622, "that Sir Philip Sidneies writings can no more be perfected without Sir Philip Sidneie, then APELLES pictures without APELLES." And we may also add Sir William's modest note that if what he had done was imperfect, "yet shall it serve for a shadow to give lustre to the rest."

¹⁷ Beside the above writings in prose, by Sir William Alexander, an account of the origin and history of the Scotch Service Book may be found in Baillie's Letters and Journals, which the editor, Mr. David Laing, says was undoubtedly drawn up by Sir William.—*Robert Baillie's Letters and Journals*, Edinburgh, 1841, Vol. I. pp. 443-447. Four letters of Sir William Alexander

to

The intimate acquaintance of Sir William Alexander with the Earl of Argyle,¹⁸ the dedication of his Sonnets to the "Countesse," and of a collection of his poetry to his "Sacred Majestie," the King, indicate that he purposed, even in his youth, to avail himself of those potent influences which, at that period especially, were necessary to personal advancement. The respectability of his birth, his high literary

to the poet Drummond are printed in the Works of Drummond, Edinburgh, 1711, p. 150. They are very brief, mostly of a literary character, but full of affection and the tenderest sympathy. In one of 1615, he speaks of John Murray, and of a sonnet he had written upon his death. He adds: "The King commended it much, but thought that I gave him too much Praise, at least it was a generous error. I envy no Man, and shall never be a Niggard to any Man's Worth in that which I can afford." In another, of 1620, he speaks of a Psalm, which both Drummond and himself had done into metre, and, in evident allusion to King James, he says, "he prefers his own to all else; tho perchance, when you see it, you will think it the worst of the Three. No Man must meddle with that Subject." He adds, "I love the Muses as well as ever I did, but can seldom have the Occasion to frequent them." In another letter to the same, in 1636, he says: "I was very glad to see your Letter, but displeased with that Part thereof, whereby you excuse the Discontinuance of Writing to me; for no Distance of Degree nor Place, should have Power to interrupt the Course of so harmonious an Unitedness, as hath so long continued between us. Your loving friend to serve you. STERLINE." For several letters to Sir William Alexander, see Drummond's History of

Scotland, London, 1682, pp. 380, 386, 388. Robert Chambers, in speaking of Sir William Alexander's writings in prose, says, "It is supposed that he had a hand in 'A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England, and of sundry accidents therein occurring from the year 1607 to the present 1622; together with the state thereof as it now standeth, the general form of government intended, and the division of the whole territory into counties, baronies, &c.'"—*Biography of Eminent Scotsmen*, Vol. I. p. 43. We find, also, the following in Sandford's Works and Lives of the British Poets, Philadelphia, 1819; Vol. IV. p. 301: "Besides his poetry, Stirling wrote, among other prose works, a Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England, in 1622." It would be interesting to know on what authority the foregoing statements rest. We do not remember to have seen any intimation of this sort in the early writers, and we fear it is only one of those *guesses* too often found in Biographical Dictionaries.

¹⁸ In his will, Sir William Alexander's father appointed the Earl of Argyle "overfman;" and there was also an unfettled account between them, from which we may infer that the two families were on terms of intimacy. — *Royal Letters, Charters, and Treats*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 12.

literary culture, the dignity of his character and his courtly bearing, soon made him a favorite of James I.¹⁹

On the accession of the King to the throne of Great Britain in 1603, the young poet removed to London, that he might be near the court, and where he might have a more hopeful opportunity of gratifying the cravings of his ambition.

He was appointed Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince Henry, honored with Knighthood, and made Master of Requests for Scotland.

Soon after Charles I. came to the throne, Sir William was made a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State for Scotland, which offices he held till the close of his life. In 1630, he was created a peer under the title of Viscount of Stirling and Lord Alexander of Tullibody. In 1633, he was raised to the dignity of Earl of Stirling,²⁰ Viscount of Canada, &c.

These

¹⁹ It is said that James I. made the acquaintance of Alexander on a sporting expedition among the clefts of Ben Cleugh. The King there met "the young laird of Menstry, who had already made the tour of Europe, and acquired reputation both as a scholar and poet. He was a sprightly youth, and possessed of elegant manners. The King invited him to Stirling Castle. His Majesty and young Alexander became fast friends. Alexander obtained honours and immunities from his royal patron. Having filled the minor offices of State, he obtained higher posts. . . . No subject obtained such privileges before or since." — *Traits and Stories of Scottish People, by the Rev. Charles Rogers*, London, 1867, p. 273.

²⁰ In 1633, the year in which Charles

I. was formally crowned in Scotland, to honor his coronation, his first parliament, and the place of his birth, he created, at different times and places, during his stay in that Kingdom, one Marquis, ten Earls, two Viscounts, and eight Lords. At this time, on the 14th of June, 1633, Sir William Alexander was created Earl of Stirling. — *See Balfour's Historical Works*, Edinburgh, 1824, Vol. II. p. 202. The orthography of "Stirling" has passed through more than the usual mutations. At an early period it was written Stryveling, Stryveline, and was *Latinized*, Starlineum. It was also written Sterlin, Sterline, and Sterling. It settled, however, at length into Stirling, which has for a long time been the approved spelling.

These high honors, and others of less importance to which he was advanced, indicate very distinctly the respect in which he was held, and the confidence reposed in him at the court of Charles I.

In 1621 Sir William became greatly interested, "exceedingly inflamed," as he expresses it, in American colonization. This was, indeed, the most attractive field that presented itself at that period to high enterprise and lofty ambition. His residence of nearly twenty years in London, associating with the leading men at the court of James I., his acquaintance with Capt. John Mason, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and other undertakers for New England, rendered it not difficult for him to obtain a grant of lands on the most favorable conditions.

His application was made directly to the King, who at once entered into his scheme with zeal and cordiality, addressing a note to the Chancellor, and other members of the Privy Council of Scotland, elaborately setting forth the great importance of colonization to that kingdom, and requesting them to grant a "Signatour" to Sir William Alexander of the "sayd lands lying betweene New England and Newfoundland as he shall designe them particularly vnto yow."²¹

Agreeably to this recommendation, dated at the Castle of Windfor, the 10th of September, 1621, a charter was prepared,

²¹ In this note, the King informs them that Sir William Alexander had been encouraged to undertake a foreign plantation by the governors of both New England and Newfoundland. — *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 12.

prepared, and passed under the Great Seal,²⁹ covering the territory lying on the east of the river St. Croix, south of the St. Lawrence, now included, in general terms, in the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and those parts of Quebec called Rimouki, Bonaventure, and Gaspé.

This grant was made, at the suggestion of Sir William, under the name of New Scotland.³⁰ Immediate steps were taken by him to plant a colony on the extensive territory which had been so liberally bestowed upon him, and to avail himself of the personal aggrandizement and wealth, which to his ardent mind seemed to be rapidly approaching within his grasp.

But to appreciate the task that was really before him, the means that were requisite to accomplish it, and the qualities required in the undertaker of so important an enterprise, it will be necessary, in the first place, to obtain a clear idea of the progress already made in the colonization of the New World, the degree to which practical experience had at that time resolved itself into a recognized law, and the almost insuperable

²⁹ Dr. Palfrey is in error when he says that Sir William Alexander obtained his patent from "the Council for New-England." His charter came directly from the King, and the authority of the Council is not recognized, or referred to in that instrument. As his charter covered lands within the limits of the "Council's" patent, it was obtained, however, with their full knowledge and cordial consent. In the published statement of the President and Council, they say the grant was obtained "not without some of our privities, as by approbation under writing may and doth appear." — *Brief Relation, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XIX. p. 5. See, also, *Gorges's Briefe Narration*, London, 1658, p. 38.

³⁰ "Being much encouraged hereunto by Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and some others of the undertakers for New England, I shew them that my Countrymen would neuer adventure in such an Enterprize, vnlesse it were as there was a *New France*, a *New Spaine*, and a *New England*, that they might likewise haue a *New Scotland*." — *Encouragement to Colonies, by Sir William Alexander*, London, 1624, p. 32.

insuperable difficulties that presented themselves at home as well as on the foil itself.

To this end we propose to take a brief historical survey of what had been done in the way of discovery and colonization on the eastern coast of America anterior to the date of Sir William Alexander's charter in 1621, with the hope, also, that we may better appreciate the zeal and energy and sacrifice which he brought to the enterprise, and to be able to see, as we could not otherwise do, why his efforts were not crowned with more obvious and satisfactory results.

Soon after 1490, the citizens of Bristol, England, inspired doubtless by the genius and enterprise of John Cabot, sent out several unsuccessful expeditions for discovery in the regions of the north-west.

On the 24th of June, 1497,²⁴ however, a hundred and twenty-four years anterior to the date of Sir William's charter, John Cabot made the discovery of the north-eastern part of this continent, which he called *Prima Vista*.²⁵ In this voyage, we are told that he coasted three hundred leagues, that he actually saw no human beings, but only the

²⁴ For an interesting discussion of the date of Cabot's first voyage, by J. G. Kohl and M. D'Avezac, see *Coll. Me. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, Vol. I. pp. 372-377; *idem*, pp. 502-514; also Note by Mr. Charles Deane in the Proceedings of the Am. Antiquarian Society, 1867, p. 47.

²⁵ Notwithstanding much learned discussion of the subject, the geographical position of Cabot's "*Prima Vista*" is

not yet decisively established; whether it was Newfoundland, Cape Breton, or Labrador, may perhaps always remain in doubt. See Mr. Charles Deane's Remarks on Sebastian Cabot's "*Mappe-Monde*," Proceedings of Am. Antiquarian Society, 1867, p. 44; History of the Discovery of Maine, by Dr. Kohl, *Coll. Me. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, Vol. I. pp. 132-135; *idem*, pp. 358-377.

the indubitable marks that the new land was nevertheless inhabited. Upon it he planted the Christian Cross, with the English flag, in honor of the sovereign under whose charter he sailed, and another of St. Mark, in dutiful regard to his Venetian home. He also saw, on his return, two islands, which he did not linger to explore, being forced, by want of provisions, to return speedily to England. The departure and return of the expedition were both included within the space of about three months.²⁶

In 1498, Sebastian, the son of John Cabot, sailed again from England with two ships, (having accompanied his father on the voyage of the preceding year,) encountering icebergs in the northern seas in the month of July. Having reached the latitude²⁷ of 56° north, and perhaps even a much higher latitude than this, forced at length by the roughness of these icy seas, he directed his course to the south-west, touching at Newfoundland, and skirting the whole Atlantic coast as far as South Carolina, in latitude 36°. This voyage added very little important information to that already obtained, except that it placed the existence of a main-land beyond a doubt.

The discoveries, however, thus far made were regarded as sufficient to found a claim of sovereignty by the English
over

²⁶ See Pasqualigo's letter, *Proceedings of Am. Antiquarian Society*, 1865, p. 20. Also *Introduction to Hakluyt's Voyages*, by John Winter Jones, Hak. Soc. Ed., London, 1850, p. lxix.; *Histoire of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, by Wm. Strachey, Hak. Soc. Ed., 1849, p. 6; *Northern Coast of Amer-*

ica, by Patrick Frazer Tytler, Edinburgh, 1832, pp. 20-24; Rymer's *Fœdera Angliæ*, Vol. XII. p. 595; Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, London, 1614, p. 737.

²⁷ It is asserted that he reached as far as 67° north latitude.—*Hakluyt's Voyages*, Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 25.

over the entire coast from Newfoundland to Florida; and this claim has been maintained by them, at least on paper, down to the present time.²⁸

In the years 1500 and 1501 Gaspar Cortereal made two voyages: he sailed with two ships from Lisbon in the latter year, under the patronage of the King of Portugal, inspired, doubtless, by the hope of finding a shorter route to India or the famed Cathay. He explored six hundred miles or more of the coast of Labrador. The country was found to have an abundance of timber fitted for the masts of ships, and to be peopled by a race of men in many respects resembling gypsies, of gentle manners, of exceedingly graceful figures, admirably adapted to endure labor, and offering a rich prize, as slaves, to the heartless cupidity of the Portuguese monarch.²⁹

In 1512, or 1513, John Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, discovered the coast of Florida, and some years afterward, when attempting

²⁸ For an account of Cabot's discoveries, see Hakluyt's *Voyages*, London, 1810, Vol. III. pp. 27-30. The title based on the right of discovery is constantly set up by the early English writers. The claim to New England, New Scotland, and Virginia, as set forth by the order of the Scottish Convention of Estates in 1630, was grounded on Cabot's discovery, in the following terms:—

"Immediately about the time that Columbus discovered the Isle of Cuba, Sebastian Chabot set out from England by Henrie the Seventh did first discover the continent of America, beginning at the Newfoundland, and thereafter going to the Gulph of Cana-

da, and from thence having seen Cape Breton all along the coast to Florida: By which discovery his Ma^{ty} hath the title to Virginia, New England and New Scotland, as being then first discovered by Chabot at the charge of the king of England." — *Royal Letters, Charters, and Treaties*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 61.

²⁹ On his second voyage, Cortereal is said to have captured more than fifty of the natives, whom he intended as slaves; but he and most of them perished at sea. Dr. Kohl is of the opinion that these captives were of the Micmac tribe, inhabitants of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. — *Me. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d Series, Vol. I. p. 170.

attempting to take possession of the territory with a body of men, most of them were slain by the natives, and he was himself mortally wounded. Other attempts were made by the Spanish under Narvaez, De Soto, and others, to form settlements, but with no success. Garrisons were established at S. Jacomo, S. Augustino, and S. Phillippo, but the whole history of the Spanish occupation is only a story of cruelty, a struggle for existence, and final failure.

In 1524, Giovanni Verrazani, a Florentine, under the patronage of Francis I., King of France, made a voyage to the shores of America, sailing along the whole Atlantic coast from Florida to Newfoundland. His progress along the shore was deliberate, stopping at various points, tarrying at each from three days to three weeks, seeking an acquaintance with the savages, noting the difference in the manners and customs of the different tribes, learning, also, the products of the country so far as it was possible to do. Very little, however, could be ascertained beyond what met the eye, the general aspect of the country as seen from the ship, the islands, bays, and rivers, with here and there a sandy beach and rocky point, with forests and hill-tops indistinctly seen in the distance.³⁰ On reaching Newfoundland, his provisions having become exhausted, he returned to France.³¹

In

³⁰ Verrazani is supposed to have touched at the site of Charleston, S.C.; at Long Bay, Onslow Bay, Raleigh Bay, the Hudson River, sailing up its mouth a short distance; at Newport, R.I., Portsmouth, N.H., Penobscot Bay, &c. made by Verrazani; but if any account of them exists, we have not seen it. Ribault, speaking of this in 1524 (see Hakluyt's Voyages, Hak. Soc. Ed., London, 1850), says, "After his arrival, he never ceased to make suite until he was sent thither againe, where at last he died."

In

In 1534, Jacques Cartier,³² a French navigator of distinction, made a voyage to the American coast: it was, however, limited to a survey of the northern shores of Newfoundland, and the region of Gaspé, of which a minute description is given. The next year he failed again, and explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, penetrating as far as Hochelaga (Montreal), and a very full description of the country and its products, and of the character, manners, and customs of the natives is preserved. He again failed in 1541 under the patronage of François de la Rocque, Lord of Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy, upon whom the King of France had bestowed several empty titles, such as Lord of Norumbega and Viceroy of Canada. He built a fort near the present site of Quebec, which he named Charlebourg, where his party of a hundred persons of both sexes remained some months. Cartier returned to France, and his principal, Roberval, baffled in his attempt to plant a colony, after some unsuccessful efforts to discover a "north-west passage to India," returned likewise to France.

In 1562, an attempt was made by the French to plant a colony in Florida, a name at that time given to a vast and unlimited territory, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico indefinitely to the north. The expedition was conducted
by

In the introduction to the voyage of 1524, in Ramusio, is the following: "In the last voyage which he made, having landed, together with some of his companions, they were all killed by the natives, and roasted and eaten in the presence of those who remained on board the ships."—*Note in Hakluyt*, p. 93, Hak. Soc. Ed., London, 1850.

³² Purchas's Pilgrimage, London, 1614, p. 749. For a narrative of the early voyages of the French and of the Spanish to America, in which entertainment and historical accuracy are combined in an extraordinary degree, the reader is referred to the "Pioneers of France in the New World," by Francis Parkman, Boston, 1865.

by Captain John Ribault, and a colony, consisting of twenty-eight men, was established on an island, where they built a fort, which they called Charlesfort, situated, probably, near the site of the present town of Beaufort, S.C. This colony, improvident of the future, was soon reduced to the brink of starvation, and, constructing a small pinnace, embarked for France, and would doubtless have perished by famine at sea had they not been picked up by an English vessel and carried to England. For the purpose of strengthening the plantation by fresh supplies and additional colonists, three ships were sent from France in 1564. Finding the settlement at Charlesfort abandoned, they attempted to establish themselves near the mouth of the river Saint John in Florida, where they erected a fort which they named Fort Caroline, in honor of their sovereign, Charles IX. of France. But within a twelve-month the enterprise came to a disastrous termination, never again to be effectually renewed, the colonists having been dispersed and mostly put to death by the Spanish under Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles.

In 1576, Martin Frobisher made the first of three voyages, which were undertaken by him in successive years, in search of a north-west passage to India. In each of these voyages he reached the frozen regions of the north, and, in spite of floating icebergs, he penetrated an inlet in latitude 63°, which he named Frobisher's Straits. Having failed up this inlet two hundred and forty miles, he landed and took formal possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth. One hundred men accompanied the third expedition

pedition as colonists, but on their arrival their equipment was so inadequate that it was resolved to be inexpedient for the colonists to remain. Beyond certain worthless samples of ore said to contain gold, a description of the animal and vegetable products of that sterile region, and three savages whom he kidnapped and took to England, these expeditions failed to yield any important results.

These northern seas were again visited by John Davis in three voyages in 1585-6-7. He reached the latitude of 73° , but added little in the way of discovery to the information already obtained.

In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a patent covering the territory stretching along the Atlantic coast from 33 to 40 degrees of north latitude, and took immediate measures to establish a colony. Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, experienced seamen, were dispatched to discover and select a site for the new plantation. After an imperfect survey of the coast of North Carolina, they finally fixed upon Roanoke Island, at the mouth of a river still bearing that name, and took possession in the name of the Queen. The next year a fleet of seven sail, with one hundred "householders and many things necessary to begin a new State," was sent out, and the plantation commenced under Mr. Ralph Lane, as governor. The following summer, receiving no fresh supplies from England as they had expected, the whole colony seized upon the opportunity offered them of returning with Sir Francis Drake, who had touched there on his return from the West Indies, and at the end of a year these resolute colonists were again in their English homes. Soon after their

their departure the expected supplies arrived, but finding that the colony had removed, Sir Richard Greenville left fifteen men, in order to hold possession, and departed again for England. The next year, 1587, Sir Walter sent over one hundred and fifty "householders" again to renew his efforts at a plantation. No supplies, however, were sent for the space of three years, and before the expiration of that period the whole colony had perished, whether by starvation, by the hand of the savages, or in a vain attempt to return to England, history gives us no intimation. Subsequently, Sir Walter Raleigh made some ineffectual efforts³³ to find his lost colonists, and with them closed his attempts to establish a plantation on the American continent, to which he had consecrated a large amount of treasure, and in which a great number of lives had been sacrificed.³⁴

In 1602, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, under the patronage of the Earl of Southampton, visited the shores of New England "to discover convenient place for a new colony to be sent thither." He made land in about 43° of north latitude, which could not have been far from the Isles of Shoals. Finding no good harbor, he stood off to the south, making a headland which he named Cape Cod. He

³³ "To their succour Sir Walter Raleigh hath sent five severall times, the last by Samuel Mace of Weymouth, in March, one thousand six hundred and two; but he and the former performed nothing." — *Purchas's Pilgrimage*, Ed. 1614, p. 755; *idem*, p. 769.

³⁴ Not far from thirty vessels were sent by Sir Walter Raleigh at different times, in his attempts at colonization in

America. — *Introduction to Strachey's Hist. Trav. Virg.*, Hak. Soc. Ed., p. vi. An interesting account of Roanoke Island, and of Mr. Ralph Lane, the governor sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, by Edward E. Hale, A.M., will be found in the *Transactions of the Am. Antiquarian Society*, Vol. IV. pp. 3-39; *idem*, pp. 317-344.

He also discovered the islands in the neighborhood of Buzzard's Bay and the Vineyard Sound, on one of which he landed and remained several weeks. Having determined upon this island as the seat of his colony, he erected a large house, with the purpose of remaining with a few of his men until the next year, when he hoped to receive from England more complete means for the enlargement and permanent establishment of his plantation. The companions of Gofnold having driven a brisk trade with the Indians, and obtained a large quantity of "furs, skyns, saxafras, and other commodities," and "making nothing but present gayne the end and object of this good work," were unwilling to remain, and the project was accordingly abandoned, "thus finishing this discovery," says Strachey, "and returning with giving many comforts, and those right true ones, concerning the benefit of a plantation in those parts."

In 1603, Captain Martin Pring, under the patronage of certain British merchants, in a voyage to this country, followed nearly in the track of Gofnold, sailing along the coast from near Portsmouth, N.H., rounding the cape, reaching at length the islands in the Vineyard Sound, where he obtained a cargo of sassafras, the main object of the voyage, and hastily returned to England.

In 1605, Captain George Weymouth was despatched by Lord Arundel of Wardour and the Earl of Southampton to America, who appears to have sailed along the coast from Cape Cod to the Kennebec or Sagadahock, giving the name of St. George to an island at the mouth of that river; and, to take formal possession of the country, he sailed up the
river

river nearly fixty miles, which he found "virged with a greene border of grasse, sometymes three or four acres, sometymes eight or ten together," with a noble growth of timber, the "goodly oake, birch, tall firre and spruce."

Having "fett upp a crosse with his Majestie's inscription thereon," and well satisfied with his "knowledg of soe commodious a feat," he returned to England, and his "goodly report" deepened the interest, and kindled a new enthusiasm in western plantation.

In 1606, Captain Henry Challons was sent out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges to make a more extended survey of the coast of Maine: wandering from his proper course, the ship was taken by the Spanish, confiscated, and the object of the voyage defeated. To co-operate with Challons, Captain Thomas Hanham and Captain Martin Pring were despatched from Bristol, by Lord Chief Justice Popham, who, not finding him at the appointed rendezvous, proceeded to survey the coast. They appear to have made so exact an examination of this whole region, its rivers, bays, and harbors, and to have carried home an account so hopeful and glowing, that the Chief Justice, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others associated with them, resolved to prosecute their favorite scheme of planting colonies in the New World with more zeal, and, as they believed, on better grounds of success.

In the mean time, early in this same year, influenced, doubtless, by the accounts of Gosnold and Pring and Weymouth, those who were imbued with the spirit of colonization succeeded in obtaining from the King letters patent

patent for two colonies. The one denominated North Virginia and the other South Virginia, the two embracing the territory on our Atlantic coast lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. These corporations are commonly known, the northern as the Plymouth, and the southern as the London Company. But it is important to observe that there was still remaining an immense territory lying above the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, claimed on the part of the English by the right of discovery.

In 1607, the two companies lost no time in planting colonies on their respective territories, which were by their charters sufficiently defined.

The Plymouth Company, at the charge of Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice of England as the principal patron, sent out two vessels, the "Gift of God" and the "Mary and John," with a hundred and twenty persons, forty-five of whom remained as colonists, and formed a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec, then known as the Sagadahock. Captain George Popham, a brother of the Chief Justice, was made president, and his assistants were Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, the Rev. Richard Seymer, Captain Richard Davies, and Captain Edward Harlowe, or Harlie. Two of these gentlemen, Popham and Gilbert, were grantees in the grand patent of 1606, under which they were now acting, and the last named was afterward a grantee in the great patent of New England of 1620; and they, as well as their associates, were eminently qualified to give character and direction to the enterprise in which they were engaged.

engaged. They immediately erected a fort to which they gave the name of St. George, and strengthened it with a trench and twelve guns. Within the fortrefs they built fifty houfes, a church, and a storehoufe. They alfo built during the winter a "Pynnace of about fome thirty tonne." Neceffary and expected fupplies were fent to them in the fpring of 1608, but they came in the midft of difcouragements, which the colonifts could not fummon fufficient refolution to bear.

The winter had been one of extraordinary and intense cold,³⁵ their storehoufe and moft of their provifions had been burned, their prefident, Captain George Popham,³⁶ had died, and

* "They were strangely perplexed with the great and unfeafonable cold they fuffered with that extremity, as the like hath not been heard of fince, and it feemes, was univerfall, it being the fame yeare that our Thames were fo lockt up that they built their boates upon it." — *Briefe Narration by Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, London, 1658, p. 8. Strachey, in fpeaking of the colony at Sagadahock, fays that many difcoveries had likewise been made, "had not the wynter proved foe extreame unfeafonable and frofty; for yt being in the year 1607, when the extraordinary froft was felt in moft parts of Europe, yt was here likewise as vehement, by which no boat could ftir upon any bufinefs." — *Strachey*, Hak. Soc. Ed., 1849, p. 27. "In the year 1607 was an extraordinary froft in moft of Europe, and this froft was found as extreme in Virginia." — *Idem*, p. 30. Purchas fpeaks of it as an "unfeafonable winter, fit to freeze the heart of a plantation." — *Purchas's Pilgrims*, London, 1625, Vol. IV. p. 1837.

The failure of this colony appears to

have refulted from an extraordinary concurrence of adverfe events. The induftry and good conduct of the colony are apparent from the following ftatement of Strachey. After fpeaking of the feverity of the winter, he fays: "Howbeyt, as tyme and occafyon gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefitt or knowledg of the planters, for which, when Capt. Davies arrived there in the yeare following (sett out from Topfham, the port towne of Exeter, with a fhipp laden full of victualls, armes, instruments, and tooles, etc.), albeyt he found Mr. George Popham, the prefident, and fome others dead, yet he found all things in good forwardnes, and many kinds of furs obtayned from the Indians by way of trade; good ftore of farsaparilla gathered, and the pynnace all finifhed." — Hak. Soc. Ed., 1849, p. 179.

³⁶ This was the only death that occurred among the colonifts, with a fingle exception. "Mr. Patterfon was flaine by the Sauages of Nanhoc, a river of the Tarentines." — *Purchas*, Ed. 1614, p. 756.

and the intelligence had just reached them that their principal supporter in England, the Chief Justice, had also died. This news "struck them with dispaire of future remedy;" and, added to this, it was announced to them that Captain Raleigh Gilbert, who had succeeded as their president, was compelled to withdraw from them to settle the estate of his brother in England, who had recently died. Added to the above catalogue of disappointments, they had failed to discover any "mines, being the mayne intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantation,"³⁷ and they feared that all other winters would prove like the first." Under these discouragements, they resolved with entire unanimity to abandon the enterprize, and accordingly set sail for England in the "new arrived shipp," and "in the new pynnace, the Virginia," which they had themselves constructed.³⁸ "And this," says Strachey, "was the end of that northerne colony uppon the river Sachadehock." Sir Francis Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges continued for several years to send expeditions as private enterprizes to this coast for the purpose of trade and fishing, but were unable to do any thing more in the way of colonization.

In the same year, 1607, the London Company sent out a colony consisting of above a hundred persons, who made a settlement at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, on the James River in Virginia. This was the beginning of what proved to

³⁷ Strachey, Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 179.

³⁸ The first water-craft, constructed within the present territory of the United States for the purpose of crossing the Atlantic ocean, was, we presume, the "small pinnace" built at Charle-

fort, now Beaufort, S.C., by the French colonists planted there by Ribault in 1562. — *Antea*, p. 26.

The "new pynnace, the Virginia," was, doubtless, the next in order of time.

to be a permanent plantation, and was destined in after years to be crowned with eminent success. But the early history of the colony is an almost unbroken series of disappointments and disasters. Two months after their landing had not elapsed, when nearly the whole of the colonists had been attacked by disease, and during the first year one-half of their number had died. The Indians were hostile and treacherous, the climate was depressing, their diet and lodgings were unfuitable, and their storehouse was accidentally consumed by fire. There were new arrivals of colonists from year to year, and occasional periods of apparent prosperity, but they were only as flashes of light in a midnight darkness. Disorder and confusion reigned; one government after another was set aside, and the noblest efforts of the best men seemed incapable of introducing any thing like permanent prosperity.

At one period, by the hand of the savages and by a heedless waste of provisions followed by famine, their little band was reduced in the space of six months from four hundred and ninety to only sixty persons. But these trials and disasters were doubtless imparting their salutary lessons. Improvements in administration and new motives for industry were gradually introduced, but at the end of fourteen years after its first establishment, when Sir William Alexander obtained his patent in 1621, the history of the settlement in Virginia presented scarcely an encouraging feature to the enterprise of planting colonies in the New World.

In the mean time the French had not been indifferent to their possessions in the north-west, and had taken decisive measures

measures to establish colonies on the soil discovered by Cartier in 1535.

Passing over the colony of criminals left on the sands of Sable Island in 1598 and abandoned, most of them to perish, a remnant only to be rescued after years of suffering, influenced by the double motive of plantation and trade, Pontgrave and Chauvin and Champlain and De Monts had already made some progress in colonization. The latter had received a patent³⁹ in 1603, and had been made governor of the territory denominated "La Cadie," lying between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude. A settlement had been attempted at Tadoussac. Champlain had founded Quebec by the erection of a stone house and a few huts in 1608. The Bay of Fundy had been carefully surveyed. A colony had been attempted by De Monts on an island at the mouth of the river St. Croix, where a winter had been passed; but, finding the situation unsuitable, he had removed to Port Royal, where a fort had been built, houses constructed, land cleared, and some progress made in the cultivation of European grains and other crops.

Among the recruits sent from France to strengthen the colony were two Jesuit priests. A conflict soon arose between the civil and ecclesiastical authority. The priests were constrained to leave. They retired with a part of the colony, or rather a reinforcement that had just arrived from France, to an island on the coast of Maine, which had been named
Monts

³⁹ See De Monts's charter in Lescarbois's History of New France, Paris, 1866, Vol. II. p. 408-414; also, in English, in Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1705, Vol. I. p. 813.

Monts deserts, where they erected a fort in a harbor on the east side of the island which they called port Saint Sauveur, and proceeded to plant fruit-trees of the most delicate kinds, which they had brought from France, such as the apricot and the peach. But their abode here was destined to be short. Captain Samuel Argall, of the colony of Jamestown, coasting along New England on a trading voyage, obtained some intimation from the Indians of the French settlements.⁴⁰ He immediately sailed for Mount Desert, destroyed the fort, and dislodged the colony. A little later in the same year he visited Port Royal, and dispersed the settlers there, as intruders upon English territory. Thus terminated this plantation in 1613, after a feeble and thriftless existence of eight years.

In 1609, Henry Hudson sailed along our coast from Cape Cod as far south as Chesapeake Bay; returning, he entered the harbor of New York, and explored the river which bears his name one hundred and sixty miles, as far and perhaps further than the present site of Albany. The few Dutch families soon after domiciled on the banks of the Hudson made, however, for several years, but a feeble figure in the way of colonization.

Newfoundland had been touched by most of the voyagers from the period of John Cabot's expedition in 1497, but a patent to colonize was first granted in 1610, and Mr. John Guy of Bristol, as governor, commenced a plantation that year. In 1615, or 1616, Captain John Mason succeeded him

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⁴⁰ Sir Samuel Argall was subsequently one of the Great Council for planting
ly governor of Virginia, and likewise New England.

as governor, where he remained several years. Another plantation was made at Ferryland, by Richard Whitbourne, in 1615. But the settlements here during the first decade made little progress, not extending much beyond the dimensions of respectable fishing posts.

In 1614, Captain John Smith visited our shores, ranging and surveying the rivers, bays, and inlets from Penobscot to Cape Cod, touching at the Isles of Shoals and other points, constructing a valuable map of this part of New England, and driving a lucrative trade with the Indians, bearing away 11,000 beaver skins, 200 marten and otter skins, and 1,200 quintals of dried fish. This was followed by an attempt the next year by this distinguished navigator to lay the foundation of a settlement in New England, but the expedition unfortunately never reached our shores.

These were the principal voyages and attempts at colonization on our Atlantic coast anterior to 1621. There were many other expeditions undertaken for discovery, trade, and fishing, less important indeed, but which nevertheless contributed to the aggregate information and experience needed to secure final and complete success.

Of the little colony that had left England in 1620 and intended to settle within the limits of the Southern Virginia company, from which it had procured a patent, but had been accidentally, or possibly by design, landed on Plymouth rock, it is hardly probable that Sir William Alexander, at the time he obtained his patent, in 1621, had any information. If the story of their sufferings during the preceding winter, and the reduction of their number by death to one-half,

half, had reached him, it could have presented but a gloomy and disheartening picture, especially to one who was about to plant a colony in a still more inhospitable region.

We have thus compressed into the fewest words possible an outline of the more important enterprises in discovery and colonization on the eastern coasts of America antecedent to 1621.

The reader will scarcely fail to be surprised at the number of attempts made, and the apparent meagreness of the positive results that followed. But he is hardly a philosopher, who does not see that all this, in the existing circumstances, was a necessary preparation for the success that followed in after years.

Reports of these voyages and attempts at plantation had, in many instances, been reduced to writing, and some of them had been printed and extensively circulated.⁴¹ But these were not the only, and perhaps not the principal sources of information to such as were interested in western colonization. The oral accounts which they received were probably less trustworthy, but far more specific and glowing. The story of these voyages was doubtless repeated by scores who had made them for the simple love of adventure, and who

⁴¹ Capt. Richard Whitbourne published a tract in 1620, entitled a "Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," and another entitled a "Discourse, containing a loving Invitation," in 1622; these, revised and enlarged, were "presented to King James, and ordered to be printed and distributed in every parish throughout England, to show the benefit of a plantation there." — *Calendar of State Papers*, Col. Series, 1574-1660, Sainsbury, p. 82.

Capt. John Smith says of his History of New England: "I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed, one thousand with a great many Maps both of Virginia and New England, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in London at their Halls." — *Smith's Genl. Hist.*, London, 1632, p. 230.

who were to be found in all the important maritime towns in Great Britain. The number of this class had been greatly augmented by the fisheries carried on by various nations on the Grand Banks, and other stations on our Atlantic coast. Soon after the first discovery of these fishing-grounds, the Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English directed their attention to them as a source of wealth. We are informed that, in 1578, there were fifty sail from England, a hundred from Spain, and a hundred and fifty from France, prosecuting this important business, besides twenty or thirty sail from Biscay engaged in the whale fishery. It is obvious that these vessels must have employed from two thousand to five thousand persons, and it has been estimated that, at some periods, there were not less than ten thousand in this employment. To many it was the business and occupation of life to make annual visits to the shores of America. They became more or less familiar with the whole coast from Cape Cod to Labrador. They observed the manners and habits of the natives, and gained some imperfect notion of the natural products and capabilities of the soil. Returning to their homes at the approach of winter, they diffused the information they had obtained through the circles of their acquaintance, garnished, doubtless, at times, by tales of exciting interest and bold adventure.

But there was another source of information distinct from these to which we have referred. In many of the voyages, especially those undertaken for discovery, a number of the natives were captured and taken to Europe. In a few instances they were reduced to slavery. But for the most part,

part, they were held, and occasionally exhibited, as specimens of the race from the New World. From them it was hoped to obtain information relating to the interior of the continent, which at that period could be gathered from no other source. They were accordingly sometimes detained several years, that they might learn the language of their captors, and thus be able to communicate the desired information. They did, indeed, give some notion of distant lakes and rivers and mountains, especially of those that fell within the range of their broadest hunting-grounds, but even this was so hazy and undefined in its character that it proved in the end to be of little practical value.

It is to be observed that the knowledge of the country, obtained from the sources above referred to, was exceedingly superficial. The interior had never been surveyed or even explored. A few hasty trips up some of the rivers had been made in row-boats, and a sort of bird's-eye glimpse had thus been gained of their shores. It was well known that the forests were richly stocked with wild animals and birds, and that sea-fowl and fish were abundant along the Atlantic shores.

The character of the natives was inadequately understood. While the Europeans did not encroach upon their domain, while their visits to them were brief, and for the simple exchange of commodities which were mutually desired; the Indian exhibited for the most part only an amiable and friendly disposition. His deep sense of injury, the law of revenge that reigned supremely in his mind, had not yet been revealed. His love of war, his implacable nature, his
indiscriminate

indiscriminate cruelty to the innocent as well as the guilty, that lawless frenzy of hatred that led him to desire not simply to conquer, but to annihilate an enemy and every thing that pertained to him, had not as yet been exhibited. These characteristics of the natives were to be unfolded in the future, and enter into the bitter experience of the colonists through the long period of at least a hundred and fifty years.

In 1621 there was no adequate practical knowledge of the capability of either the soil or the climate of this northern coast. The tests that had been applied by the French at Annapolis were too circumscribed, as to time and space, to be of any general value. It was not known whether the cereals or the fruits common in Europe could be successfully cultivated anywhere between Cape Cod and Frobisher's Straits. Agriculture, the proper foundation of successful colonization, does not appear to have entered largely into their plans. It was apparently kept in the back-ground by what offered more immediate results to the undertakers, as the fur-trade with the Indians, of which they were sure, and the mineral resources of the country, of which they were ignorant, but from which they had great expectations.

A serious and almost insuperable obstacle to success in colonization, or voyages of discovery with a view to colonization, had hitherto existed in the paucity of money or capital offered to the enterprise. Government patronage had been for the most part merely nominal, confined to patents and charters which existed on paper, accompanied by no actual

actual and efficient power to enforce them or to carry out their provisions. These schemes, therefore, had generally been undertaken by gentlemen of wealth, and conducted altogether as private enterprises. They were not undertaken with a knowledge adequate to foresee or with reserved means to repair the losses and disasters which were sure to befall them. When these losses or disasters came, the enterprise was, therefore, either abandoned at once, or so long a delay succeeded as to render repair impossible.

But an obstacle more likely to prove fatal than perhaps any other is to be found in the inferior character of the colonists themselves; the "bone and sinew," the persons who were to perform the manual labor, on whose integrity, industry, and perseverance such an enterprise, especially in its incipient stages, must always greatly depend. This class of persons appears to have been regarded as of the smallest importance. The chroniclers of the early attempts at colonization scarcely recognize them except to deprecate their indolence and to denounce their vices. The spirit of the feudal system was in fact still existing, although its forms had for the most part disappeared. In aiming to enrich themselves, the undertakers offered but little encouragement to those by whom their riches were to be gathered up and poured into their laps. They were in fact to be, in a modified sense, feudal lords, and the colonists were to be their dependent serfs. It was not till 1615 that the Virginia colonists, in general, were given any right in fee to their lands, as an inducement to settle in America and as a reward for their expatriation.

Sir

Sir Robert Gordon,⁴⁸ who had obtained a charter of Cape Breton, under the name of New Galloway, in 1621, set forth, in a printed form, in 1625, the following conditions to colonists who should settle on his domain:—

The landed gentleman was to hold the soil in fee for ever.

The farmers were to hold their lands by lease.

All were to pay in kind to the Lord proprietor, after a specified time, one-thirteenth of the whole income of the land.

The artificers and craftsmen were favored by having the rent of their lands, probably only house-lots, free during their lives, but to be subject to rent to their successors.

We presume that none of the patentees in the early attempts at planting colonies offered any better conditions than these. It is obvious that such inducements could have

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⁴⁸ Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar published a tract in 1625 to encourage the colonization of Cape Breton, under the following title: "ENCOURAGEMENTS, For such as shall have intention to be Vnder-takers in the new plantation of CAPE BRITON, now *New Galloway* in AMERICA, By Mee LOCHINVAR. *Non nobis nati sumus; aliquid parentes, aliquid Patria, aliquid cognati postulant.* EDINBURGH, Printed by Iohn Wreittoun. Anno Dom. 1625."

This tract contains many interesting statements relating to Cape Breton, and throws much light upon the subject of colonization at that period. It is inscribed as follows:—

"TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIPFULL SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER of Menstrie Knight, Master of Requestes for Scotland, and Lievetenani Generall to his

Majestie in the Kingdome of NEW SCOTLAND. AND TO THE REMNANT THE NOBLEMEN, AND KNIGHTS BARONETS in Scotland, Vnder-takers in the Plantations of New Scotland in AMERICA."

Cape Breton was a part of New Scotland, and was included within the limits of Sir William Alexander's Charter. It was granted, however, by James I. under the great seal to Sir Robert Gordon, by the permission of Sir William, and agreeably to a special contract between him and Sir Robert, which is referred to in the charter itself.

The Tract and Charter are both included in the Bannatyne Collection of Royal Charters, Letters, and Tracts, edited by David Laing, LL.D., Edinburgh, 1867. Sir Robert Gordon died in November, 1627, and his project of colonization came to an end.

no influence with farmers at home who had already achieved success, or were even in "comfortable circumstances." It was only such as were depressed by poverty and devoid of ambition, who could be induced to seek a home in the wilderness of America, where there was no hope of attaining to a manly independence, or of transmitting such an inheritance to their posterity.

The bulk of the colonists, the whole body of laborers, in all the plantations attempted anterior to 1620, was made up largely of this inferior class of persons. And we cannot doubt that it was one of the most potent causes, if not the sole cause, of their repeated failures. Had grants of land been offered in fee, it would have drawn together an energetic and industrious class of men; they would have taken with them more ample means of subsistence and protection; the diseases by which so many of the first settlers were smitten down would have been averted; they would naturally have become attached to the soil, which they could contemplate as their own, and as the future inheritance of their children. No ordinary hardships or calamities could have induced them to leave it. But neither the spirit of the age nor the political economy of that period was sufficiently enlightened to foresee the importance of elevating the laboring class into owners of real-estate, of endowing plain, simple, ignorant men with the rights and responsibilities which the ownership of property is sure to confer. And it was not till this truth had been learned by bitter experience, and the English peasant became the owner of the soil which he cultivated, that permanent prosperity began to attend our American plantations.

With

With the view we have thus taken of the progress in colonization, of the small amount of practical experience already attained, of the meagreness of definite knowledge of every sort, and of the inevitable difficulties that invested the whole undertaking, we are prepared to estimate the Herculean task which was before Sir William Alexander, when he undertook, single handed and alone, to plant a colony on the shores of America.

In March, 1622, the next year after obtaining his Charter, he provided himself with a ship at London; but, as he intended to plant a Scottish colony, he sent it round by St. George's Channel to Kirkcudbright, a small seaport town at the mouth of the Dee, for supplies both of men and material. Here he encountered difficulties which he had not foreseen. Provisions had tripled in price since his visit to Scotland three months before, and colonists were hard to be found. Few of the "good sort" could be induced to go. It was not till the beginning of August that he succeeded in despatching his ship from the shores of Great Britain. About the middle of September they came in sight of the island of Saint Peter, on the south of Newfoundland, and continuing due west approached the shores of Cape Breton, but were driven back by a "great storme," perhaps an equinoctial, to Newfoundland, and finally sought shelter in the harbor of Saint John, where the colony, if so it may be called, so hastily collected and so ill prepared, without even landing upon Sir William's territory at all, decided to spend the winter, and the ship was sent home for new supplies.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding this disheartening experience, Sir William lost no time in sending out another ship, with additional colonists, the next spring, which left London about the end of March, but with the usual delays did not reach Saint John, Newfoundland, till the fifth of June. On its arrival it was found that the company, which had been left there the preceding year, had become dispersed; a part of them, doubtful of receiving supplies, had engaged themselves as fishermen, and consequently could not again be easily collected together. Moreover, two of the most important members of the company, the Minister and the Smith, had died. Their number was so much reduced that any further effort for a plantation that year was of necessity again deferred.

But it was decided that ten of their principal men should proceed to New Scotland on a tour of exploration, and fix upon a suitable place for planting a colony to be sent out the next year.

After leaving Saint John, detained by fogs and contrary winds, the expedition did not come in sight of land for the space of two weeks, after which they sailed along the coast, to and fro, for four or five days. At length they came to Port de Mouton, in the vicinity of which they discovered three pleasant harbors, and in one of them, four leagues west of Port Mouton, they went on shore, calling it after the name of their ship, St. Luke's Bay. Two leagues further to the west they discovered another harbor, with a still more desirable river, known as Port Jolly. After coasting twelve leagues further, making in all eighteen leagues, or fifty-four miles,

miles, they terminated at Port Negro their explorations of the coast towards the west. Having re-examined Port de Mouton on their return, which they found eminently satisfactory, they hastened back to Newfoundland, where their ship had been engaged to take home a cargo of fish. The colonists sought immediately such opportunities as they could to return home in the numerous fishing-vessels to be found there, at that season, from the west of England.⁴³

The report, which Sir William's agents in this voyage brought back to him, represented the country which they had seen in the most glowing colors. It abounded in fine harbors and deep rivers, skirted with fertile meadows fragrant with roses and lilies. The fields were laden with small fruits, the gooseberry, the raspberry, and the strawberry, and even specimens of grain, as wheat, barley, and rye, were seen "growing wilde." The forests were studded with the oak, the birch, the ash, and the fir. The waters were swarming with great varieties of fish, and the whole coast with wild-fowl. The space between the two rivers flowing into Port Jolly and St. Luke's Bay, about two leagues in extent, they found destitute of wood, and the soil at the same time rich and fertile. Here, in the midst of this paradise of plenty, the explorers, agreeably to their intention, selected a site for

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⁴³ Dr. Palfrey informs us, under date of 1623, that the party sent out by Sir William Alexander that year found Port Royal occupied by Frenchmen, and returned without attempting its reduction. It would be interesting to know on what evidence this statement is made. The nearest point to Port Royal, which the exploring party of Sir William reached, is Port Negro on the opposite side of the peninsula, and by water at least a hundred and fifty miles from Port Royal. There is no intimation in Sir William's narrative of this exploration that the party either saw or heard of any Frenchmen at Port Royal. A fact so important could not have escaped his attention. If there were any there at that time, it was probably wholly unknown to the English.

a future plantation, but which, nevertheless, they were destined never to occupy.

The cost of these expeditions to Sir William Alexander could not have been small. The outfit of provisions and utensils, in addition to the expenditure of chartering the ships, must have amounted in the aggregate to a large sum. But as one, and probably both of the ships employed, returned with a valuable freight, it is fair to infer that if the whole expense was not thus covered, Sir William's balance-sheet in this enterprise did not present a very disheartening aspect.

It was obvious, however, to our undertaker, after these experiments, that the scheme in which he had engaged could not be successfully carried out by the private means at his command. He appears to have given over, for the time being, all direct efforts for sending out actual settlers to take possession of the soil. It was necessary to awaken a deeper practical interest, especially in capitalists, in the remunerative character, the feasibility, and even moral grandeur and Christian duty of planting colonies in the New World. This he aimed to do by the preparation of a learned and able historical paper on colonization in general, and in its particular application to New Scotland, which he published in 1624, under the title of *AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO COLONIES*.* Of this tract, reprinted in these pages, we shall speak more particularly in the sequel. To what extent it accomplished

* It appears from the proclamation of the Privy Council of Scotland relating to the Knights Baronets, Nov. 30, 1624, that Sir William had set forth "printed Articles of the Plantation of New Scotland" for the information of such as might wish to engage as undertakers. If these articles were something

accomplished its intended purpose it is difficult to determine. But that it quickened the interest of the Scottish gentry, for to this class it mainly if not exclusively appealed, and prepared the way for a subsidiary scheme in behalf of colonization, which Sir William was at that time contemplating, and which he afterwards urged with some success, cannot admit of a doubt.

The scheme to which we refer was the creation of an Order of Knights Baronets in connection with the colonization of New Scotland, by which he hoped to obtain the necessary funds, and at the same time to impart an importance and dignity to the undertaking.⁴⁵

The King entered heartily into this plan of Sir William, and all the necessary steps were taken for issuing patents on the first of April, 1625. The scheme provided for the division

thing distinct from the "Encouragement to Colonies," as they doubtless were, there is probably no copy of them now extant, a circumstance greatly to be regretted.

⁴⁵ This scheme appears to have been suggested by the method resorted to by James I. in the establishment of the Order of Baronets of England in 1611. After the reconstruction and settlement of Ulster in Ireland by English and Scotch at that period, it became necessary to raise a sufficient military force to protect the new plantation. Obviously for meeting the expense to be thus incurred, the King conferred the hereditary honor and title of Baronet upon such gentlemen of family, not exceeding two hundred, as should pay into the Exchequer, on the passing of his patent, a sum of money which would maintain thirty soldiers in the province of Ulster, at eight pence per day for

three years. Besides the title of Baronet, the patentee had the privilege of bearing the Arms of Ulster either on an Inescutcheon or Canton in his paternal shield. These were the Baronets of England. It will be observed that the English Baronet received simply the honor and title as an equivalent for the money he paid, while in addition to this the Baronet of New Scotland obtained a title to more than ten thousand acres of land. The English Baronet was not required to settle in Ulster, nor was the Baronet of New Scotland compelled to occupy in person his lands in the wilds of America. — *History of Ireland*, by Thomas Wright, London, 1848, p. 604; *Hand-Book of Heraldry*, by John E. Cussans, London, 1869, p. 197; *Historical Tract*, London, 1617, in Somers's Collection, Ed. by Walter Scott, Esq., 1809, Vol. II. p. 252

division of New Scotland into two Provinces, each province into several Dioceses or Bishoprics, each diocese into three Counties, and each county into ten Baronies, and each barony into six Parishes. Each barony was to cover an area of about six miles by four, greater or less, and to be bounded upon the sea or some navigable river. The baronets were to be hereditary, and to have the "precedencie next and immediatelie after the youngest sones of the Viscounts and Lordis Barrounis of Parliament," the word Sir was to be prefixed to "their proper name," and "the style and the title of Baronett" subjoined to their surnames, and that of "Ladie, Madame, and Dame," was to be prefixed to the names of their wives.

These honors were to be offered only to gentlemen of family, who were willing to be undertakers for the colonization of New Scotland. They were to pay severally to Sir William Alexander one thousand merks, Scottish money,⁴⁶ for his past charges, and for resigning to them his interest in the lands included in the barony. They were also each of them to send out to the colony six men, armed, apparelled, and victualled for two years. But they were allowed to commute for sending the six men by the payment of the sum of two thousand merks, which was to be applied in furtherance of colonization in New Scotland.

As has already been intimated, the lands included in the baronies were first resigned into the hands of the King, and by him re-granted to the several Knights Baronets, so that they

⁴⁶ A "merk" was a Scottish silver one third of a penny sterling. — *Jacobson*.
coin of the value of thirteen pence and *meison*.

they did not hold under Sir William, but directly from the King himself.

The following warrant for the issuing of a Charter under the Great Seal will indicate the nature and extent of the powers conferred : —

“ Precept ⁴⁷ of a charter made by Our Sovereign Lord, the King, to our much loved cousin, William, Earl Marischal, Lord Keith and Altrie, &c., marshal of our kingdom of Scotland, his heirs male and assigns whomsoever, hereditarily, of all and the whole of that part or portion of the region and dominion of New Scotland bounded and limited as follows; viz., beginning from the southernmost point of land on the eastern shore of the river now called Tweed, but formerly Saint Croix, and from thence extending easterly six miles by the sea and shore, and thence extending northerly from the sea-shore into the mainland, always keeping from the easterly shore of the same river a distance of six miles in width from said river, easterly, until it shall reach to the number of forty-eight thousand acres of land, with the castles, towers, fortresses, &c. Which lands and whatever pertained to them in the said charter to Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, hereditarily, have been resigned and restored ⁴⁸ by him into the hands of our said Sovereign Lord, the King,
for

⁴⁷ Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 25. The original Precept is in Latin. We here give it in English, for the greater convenience of the reader.

⁴⁸ A commission was afterward appointed by the King, to consist of five of the nobility and Council of Scotland,

among whom were included the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Secretary, who were authorized to receive resignations of lands from Sir William, and to grant them, together with the honors and title of Knights Baronets, to such persons as he should certify had fulfilled all the requisite conditions.

for this New Charter and enfeoffment, to our aforefaid much loved coufin, William, Earl Marifchal, &c.

“Moreover, with a claufe of union into one integral and free barony and fovereignty, to be called in all future time the Barony of Marifchal Keith, to be held of Our Sovereign Lord, the King, and his fucceffors, of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, for the annual payment in free white-rent of one penny of the ufual money of the faid kingdom of Scotland, and, upon the ground only of faid territory, under the name of white-rent,⁴⁹ if fo much fhould be demanded, or any part thereof, on the feftival of the nativity of our Lord. And the feizen taken at the Caftle of Edinburgh alone, fhall be fufficient for all and fingular the lands and other things particularly and generally above written as contained in the faid charter, and other things granted in the ufual form of charters of Baronets. At the Palace of Whitehall, the 28th day of May, Anno Domini, 1625.”

Such was fubftantially the plan as fet forth by the King, and the proclamation of the Privy Council, all of which undoubtedly fprang from the fertile brain of Sir William himfelf.

On the 27th of March, 1625, four days before the Baronets were to be formally invefted with their new honors, James I. expired at Theobalds in London. But the intereft of Prince Charles, his fucceffor, had been already fecured.⁵⁰ On the
12th

⁴⁹ White-rent, or blanch-farm, was a rent to be paid in filver; while black-mail was paid in work, grain, or the loweft coin.

⁵⁰ The approbation of Charles was given in the following letter, written juft ten days before the demife of the King:—

“CHARLES P.

12th of the July following, Charles I. granted a charter *de novo damus* to Sir William, with additional provisions relating to the order of Baronets.⁵¹ Sir William regarded the establishment of this order as identical with the success of his colonial enterprise, and he entered upon the work of filling up the number, which was limited to 150,⁵² with great zeal and energy. During the first seven months nineteen gentlemen had enrolled themselves for the new honor.

But

"CHARLES P.

"Right trustie and right well beloued Cofens and Counsellouris, and right trustie and well beloued Counsellouris, Whereas it hath pleased the Kingis Majestie in favour of the Plantatioun of NOVA SCOTIA to honnour the Vnder-takiris being of the ancientest gentrie of Scotland with the honnour of Baronetts and thairin haif trusted and recommendit SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER of Menstrie to his Counsell to assist him by all laughfull meanis and to countenance the busshenes by their authoritie. In like maner We do recommend the said Sir William and the busshines to your best assistance hereby declairing that we favour bothe the busshines and the persone that followeth it in suche sort That your willingness to further it in all you can fall be vnto us very acceptable service So We bid you hartelie farewell From the Court at Theobalds, the 17 of Marche 1625."—*Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 22.

⁵¹ The curious student will be interested in the following account of this charter by Horace Walpole. The "present Earl" to whom he refers, in the extract given below, was our American General Alexander, a distinguished officer in our Revolutionary war, who had a few years previously claimed and assumed the title:—

"The present Earl of Stirling re-

ceived from a relation an old box of neglected writings, among which he found the original commission of Charles I. appointing his Lordship's predecessor Alexander, Earl of Stirling, commander in chief of Nova Scotia, with the confirmation of the grant of that province made by James I. In the initial letter are the portraits of the King sitting on the throne delivering the patent to the Earl, and round the border representations in miniature of the customs, huntings, fishings, and productions of the country, all in the highest preservation, and so admirably executed that it was believed of the pencil of Vandyke. But as I know no instance of that master having painted in this manner, I cannot doubt but it was the work of Norgate, allowed the best illuminator of that age, and generally employed, says Fuller, to make the initial letters in the patents of Peers and commissions of Embassadors."—*Anecdotes of Painting, by Horace Walpole*, London, 1782, p. 32.

⁵² The error in the following statement of Mr. Burton is too obvious to need comment: "He [Sir William Alexander] was authorized to divide this territory into a thousand allotments, and to offer the dignity of a baronet to every adventurer who should take charge of an allotment."—*History of Scotland, by John Hill Burton*, Edinburgh, 1870, Vol. VI. p. 341.

But in the mean time a somewhat formidable opposition had sprung up among the small Barons of Scotland, on the ground that the precedency granted to the new order was an infringement upon the privileges and dignities, which had been possessed by them and their predecessors in all former times, and they therefore petitioned the King to suspend this precedency until the Plantation, for the furtherance of which this dignity was to be conferred, should be actually made by the undertakers. The subject was brought before the Convention of Estates. Sir William appeared before them, opposing the petition on two grounds. First, that the King's prerogative would admit of no sort of opposition; and, second, that the suspension of the precedency would frustrate the whole Plantation. The Convention, however, does not appear to have been either convinced or intimidated, and voted to join with the small Barons in their petition to the King.

The temper of Charles was evidently not so well understood at that time as at a later period, otherwise the Convention would hardly have ventured to criticize, either on the ground of policy or propriety, the royal prerogative in a matter of this sort.

The King administered to the complainants a rebuke for their interference, informing them at the same time that they were quite at liberty to avail themselves of the new honor on the same terms offered to others; and he moreover ordered, what had not before been permitted, that the eldest sons of Knights Baronets, who desired it, should be knighted when they had arrived at the age of twenty-one years, without any charges or expenses, except the ordinary clerical fees.

The

The hostility of the small Barons having thus been thwarted, the way was again clear for Sir William to urge forward his enterprise, without at least any effective opposition.

About this time, the spring of 1626, William Vaughan, of Caermarthen in Wales, a Doctor of the Civil Law, a poet and scholar of distinction, who had for some years been attempting to plant a colony in Newfoundland, was attending at court on business relating to his plantation and to the fishing interest, where Sir William Alexander made his acquaintance.

Dr. Vaughan was at the same time publishing a book, one object of which was to create a wider public interest in colonial enterprise. To render his theme more attractive, and to garnish his work with the learning which the taste of the age seemed to demand, he summons the deities of ancient fable, and causes them to take part in the discussion of subjects of profound practical importance. In an introductory chapter, which appears to have been prefixed after the rest of the volume had been written, and in which this fabulous accessory is dispensed with, he reports a conversation that took place between himself, Sir William Alexander, and Mr. William Elveston, at that time cup-bearer to the King. The meeting of these gentlemen took place at the chambers of Sir William, and at his appointment. The report, if not *ipsissimis verbis*, was plainly satisfactory to the speakers, as it was printed that same year, and undoubtedly with their knowledge and concurrence. What Sir William said at this interview is here introduced, as setting forth the importance which he attached to colonization, and the
obstacles

obstacles that presented themselves most strongly to his mind.

Dr. Vaughan, in a somewhat Grandisonian way, says, "All three of us being met together, this learned knight, with a joyful countenance and alacrity of mind, taking me by the hand, thus began:—

"I have oftentimes wished to confer with you, but until this present, I could not find the opportunity. It is necessary, and this necessity jumps with the sympathy of our *constellations*, (for I think we were born both under the same *Horoscope*,) that we advise and devise some Project for the proceedings and successful managing of our *Plantations*. As you obtained a *Patent* of the *Southernmost part of Newfoundland*, and transplanted thither some of your *countrymen of Wales*, baptising the same by the name of *Cambrioll*; so have I got a *Patent* of the neighbouring Country unto yours Westward beyond *Cape Breton*, Christning it *New Scotland*. You have spent much, and so have I, in advancing these hopeful Adventures.

"But as yet neither of us [*sic?*] arrived at the Haven of our expectations. Only, like a wary *Politician*, you suspend your breath for a time, until you can repair your losses sustained by some of Sir *Walter Raleigh's Company* in their return from *Guiana*, while your Neighbours, the *Right Honourable, the Lord Viscount Falkland*, and *my Lord Baltimore*, to whom you assigned the *Northerly part* of your *Grant*, do undergoe the whole burden, supporting it with brave resolution, and a great deal of expense, which otherwise you were obliged to performe. The like inconveniences I have felt, even in the infancy of my *Attempt*, whether the defects proceeded through the late season of the year, when we set out the *Colony*, or by the slowness of our People, who, wearied in their passage at sea by reason of contrary winds, rested themselves too long at Saint *John's Harbor*, and at *my Lord of Baltimore's Plantation*, I knowe not; but sure I am, it cost me and my friends very dear, and brought us into much decrements; and hath well-nigh disheartened my poor *countrymen*, if at my humble
Suit,

Suit, *our most Noble and Generous King* Charles had not out of his Royal magnificence and respective care to us and our Posterities, restored and revived our courages by conferring such monnies as might arise *by the creation of Knights Baronets in Scotland*, towards the erecting of this new fabrick and heroical Action. And yet I fear all this will not suffice and defray the charge.

“ In such abundance doth my native Country of *Scotland* overwarm with people, that, if new habitations be not suddenly provided for them, as Hives for Bees, they must either miscarry of want, or turn Drones unprofitable to the *Owner*, as you well remembered in your Poetical works which you termed *Cambrensum Caroleia*: —

‘ *Si nova non apibus condas, Rex alvea, Fuci,
Ignavi fient, nec tibi lucra ferent.*’

We need not complain with our *Saviour* in the *Gospel*, that *the Harvest is great and the Labourers few*; for we have many Labourers which would willingly manure this maiden Soil, and with the painful sweat of their brows reap what they sow. But the charge of transporting them with such implements and domestical cattle as must be had now at the first, cannot but grow to an excessive cost. To expect more helps than it pleased our most bountiful King already to bestow upon us, will be in vain, I doubt, considering the scarcity of money in these days, which not only in *Scotland*, but likewise all his Majesty’s Dominions do affirm to be true. The native and genuine salt of the earth, which fructified our Cornfields with so many infinite ploughings of our Ancestors and ours, is spent; nor will Lime or Marle ever recover them to the pristine and antient vigour and fertility. *English Cloth*, which heretofore was dignified with the title of the *Golden Fleece*, grows out of request, yea, (and with inward grief I speak it,) in contempt also among the Owners and Inhabitants themselves. Our *Tin*, *Lead*, and *Coal-mines* begin to fail. Our *Woods*, which nature produced, and our Fathers left us for firing, for reparations of decayed Houses, Ploughs, and Shipping, is lately wasted by the Covetousness of a few Ironmasters. What, then, remains in this famous Isle? Except we relieve our wants by Navigation, and these must be by *Fishing*, by
hook

hook or by crook, by Letters of Mart, by way of reprisals or revenge, or else by Traffick and Commerce with other nations besides *Spaniards*. I would we could invent and hit upon some profitable means for the settling of these glorious works, whereto it seems the *divine Providence* hath elected us as instruments under our *Earthly Sovereign*.”¹³

But notwithstanding the want of interest on the part of capitalists generally in the enterprize of colonization, by which Sir William was greatly perplexed, he did not himself give over his efforts or intermit his labors.

The opposition of the small Barons, to which allusion has been made, though unsuccessful, undoubtedly retarded for a time his progress in the extraordinary method of raising funds by the creation of Knights Baronets, as only nine candidates offered themselves during the year 1626, while
nineteen

¹³ The title of this singular work by Dr. Vaughan, from which this extract is made, is “The Golden Fleece, transported from Cambrioll Colchos out of the Southermost Part of the Island commonly called the New-found-land by Orpheus Junior. London, 1626, 4to.” The island of Newfoundland is in the form of a triangle, with its base on the south. The south-eastern angle was granted to Dr. Vaughan, which he called Cambriol, where he planted a Welsh colony, and where he resided several years.

Sir Henry Carey obtained a grant and made a settlement on the north, adjoining Cambriol, at a place called Renouze. He was a Scottish nobleman, made a peer of Scotland in 1620, under the title of Viscount Falkland, and was afterward Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Sir George Calvert, created a peer in

1624, with the title of Baron of Baltimore, had a grant still further north, and made a settlement at Ferryland. He called his plantation Avelon, the ancient name of Glastonbury, where, it is said, Christianity was first preached in Britain. The controlling motive of Calvert was to establish a colony of Roman Catholics, where it would be free from any interference of the Established Church of England. He resided at Ferryland several years; but the climate was too rugged and the soil too sterile, and he finally abandoned the undertaking. He made a successful application for a grant of Maryland; but he died before his patent passed the seals, and it was immediately given to his son, Cecil Calvert, who succeeded to the titles and estates of his father. The latter was the founder of Maryland; and the name of its metropolis, Baltimore, is a memorial of the family.

nineteen had been secured in the last seven months of the preceding year. The number, however, soon increased, and in 1627 thirteen were added, and in 1628 twenty-two; but from that period the interest declined, the average number being only five annually for the next ten years, when, in 1638, all additions ceased.

The whole number of names registered for the honor was about one hundred and thirteen. If the sum of a thousand merks each was actually paid to Sir William, of which there is reason to doubt, the aggregate could not have been far from thirty thousand dollars in gold. Making all allowance for the greater relative value of money at that time, as compared with the present, this would have been but an inconsiderable sum in remuneration for his personal expenditures and interest in the colonization of New Scotland.

But while great efforts were made to increase the number of Knights Baronets, and thus to acquire the means needed for the enterprise, Sir William was by no means indifferent or inactive in the matter of actually transporting colonists and laying the foundations of a plantation. The time had come when such a movement could no longer be deferred.

The French began to appreciate the importance of their American possessions, and were resolved to prosecute the work of colonization with renewed vigor: they had, accordingly, early in the spring of 1627, inspired by Cardinal de Richelieu, formed an association, endowed with great powers and privileges, styled the Company of New France, or
the

the Hundred Associates, which bound itself to transport as colonists, to their territories in America, during the first year, two or three hundred men of all trades, and, within fifteen years, not less than four thousand French people, of both sexes.⁵⁴ This undertaking was more hopeful of success, in all its aspects, than any that had preceded it.

As the boundaries between the French and English were unsettled, and their claims widely conflicting, there was great danger that New Scotland might be occupied and claimed by the French: it was, therefore, a matter of immediate interest to Sir William Alexander to have an actual Scottish settlement made upon his territory, and remotely this object would be assured by uprooting and expelling the French from American soil.

A war had been precipitated upon the French this same year, through the influence of Buckingham, the prime minister of England, mainly to gratify a personal pique, but ostensibly for the relief of the Huguenots of Rochelle. This war offered a legitimate pretext and favorable opportunity for accomplishing this most important design.

Countenanced and aided by the King, Sir William devoted his

⁵⁴ The number of colonists which the Company of New France promised to send to America has been greatly exaggerated. By some writers it has been stated to have been six thousand, and by others even sixteen thousand. Creuxius, who wrote not more than thirty-seven years after the formation of the company, is perhaps the best authority: —

“Vt curatores ii eo ipso anno duodecesimo, supra millesimum sexcen-

tesimum, Gallos ad ducentos trecentosve in Nouam-Franciam traducerent, tum subinde pergerent, ut post annos quindecim ad quater mille viri et mulieres, omnes omnino et Galli et Orthodoxi numerarentur, peregrinis prorsus exclusis.”— Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, Paris, 1664, p. 15. See also Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*, Tome I. p. 230–231; *First English Conquest of Canada*, by Henry Kirke, London, 1871, p. 49.

his whole energies and resources in 1627, in sending out an armament for this purpose under the command and conjoint expense of Sir David Kirk.

The success of Kirk equalled the most sanguine expectations. In the several expeditions which he made he captured a French fleet of 18 transports with 135 pieces of ordnance, sent out, by the Company of New France to which we have alluded, to fortify their American plantations: he took possession of Port Royal, and left a Scotch colony, under Sir William Alexander, junior, as Governor, to which we shall refer more at length in the sequel, and finally demanded and received the surrender of Quebec, thus extinguishing all French power on the northern coasts of America.

While these conquests were going forward, the war between France and England was brought to a termination. The articles of peace were signed on the 24th of April, 1629, and provided that for whatever had been taken during the war, as prizes, no restitution should be made on either side; but whatever should be taken by either during the space of two months after this date should be restored.⁵⁵

By this agreement it was obvious that Quebec, taken some weeks after the signing of the articles of peace, was to be given up, but whether Port Royal was subject to the same rule was a debatable question.

The King addressed communications to his Privy Council of Scotland, and to the Convention of Estates, asking counsel and information. Both of these bodies urged the great importance of maintaining the Royal rights to these lands,

⁵⁵ Rushworth's Historical Collections, London, 1680, Vol. II. p. 25.

lands, and the undertakers in their peaceable possession.⁵⁶ Sir William Alexander was deputed to draw up, and present to his Majesty, their reasons in full.

The substance of Sir William's argument was, that as soon as it had been known, sixteen years before this, that the French had made a settlement at Port Royal, on soil belonging both by discovery and possession to the crown of Great Britain, they had been dispossessed by Sir Samuel Argall, and that the assent of the French King had been virtually given, by failing to make any private complaint, or to oppose it by any public act.⁵⁷ That, after the breaking up of the settlement by Argall, a remnant of the French still continued to dwell in the country, but were wholly neglected by the French government, and that their recent dislodgment was what might have been properly done in the time of profound peace; that the French had no rights there whatever; that no act of war or hostility had been committed against them, and therefore that the "business of Port Royal" did not come within the purview of the "articles of the peace."

But, notwithstanding the plausible character of this statement,

⁵⁶ Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 60; Calendar of State Papers, Col. Series, 1574-1660, Sainsbury, p. 119.

⁵⁷ The claim of the English to the northeastern coast of America by right of discovery, as stated by Sir William Alexander in this argument for holding Port Royal, will be interesting to the student of history, as exhibiting the view entertained on this subject in 1630. It may be found in full in the Banna-

tyne Collection of Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, Edinburgh, 1867, pp. 61-63.

By an Order in Council, Jan. 2, 1613-14, it appears that a feeble protest was presented by the French ambassador against the proceedings of Sir Samuel Argall; but not so much for his infringement upon national rights, as upon private property. — *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III. pp. 1-2.

ment, there was, undoubtedly, a French side to the question,⁵⁸ which added, perhaps, to the insignificance of the settlement itself, at least in the King's opinion, induced Charles I. to issue a warrant ten months later, on the 10th of July, 1631, to Sir William Alexander, requiring him to demolish the fort that had been erected by his son, as Governor, to remove all the people, and every thing belonging to the colony, leaving the bounds altogether waste and unpeopled as before the plantation had been undertaken.

This removal accordingly took place, and as a compensation for the losses sustained in the breaking up of the colony, the King soon after sent a warrant, or draft upon the treasury of Scotland, to pay to Sir William Alexander the sum of £10,000 sterling.

No definite narrative of the beginning, progress, or end of this colony has been left us. A few hints of what it must have been may be gathered out of certain letters and documents, to which we may briefly allude.

On

⁵⁸ The Rev. Thomas Prince intimates that Charles I., who had married the sister of Louis XIII., was induced to give up his possession of Canada and La Cadie, in order to obtain the half of the queen's portion, which remained up to that time unpaid. It seems most likely that, in addition to the king's desire to obtain this needed sum of money, he was satisfied that the Company of New France, under Richelieu as its head, was about to take armed possession, *volens volens*, and therefore acted on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valor. — *Prince Annals*, Boston, 1826, p. 416. "The court of England, at the instance of Lord Montague," says Charlevoix, "restored with a good grace what France was preparing to take by force." Mr. John Pory, in a letter to Sir Thomas Puckering on the 13th of January, 1630-31, states the half of the queen's portion to be £120,000. He adds: "Do you think that the French, being so exhausted by their wars, would part with such heaps of treasure for nothing? No: you may be sure they would not. The bait, therefore, to allure them thereunto, is the fort of Kebeck, in Canada, to get it out of Captain Kirk's clutches; the trade of beavers and otters, which they want to enjoy by the possession whereof, having been worth unto them, *communibus annis*, £30,000 by year." — *Court and Times of Charles I.*, by Thomas Birch, D.D., London, 1849, Vol. II. p. 90.

On the 10th of March, 1627, the King directed the Earl of Marlborough to allow the good ship called the "Eagle," at that time lying in the Thames, laden with powder, ordnance, and other provisions for the use of a plantation, ordained to be made in New Scotland, and for the use of another ship at Dumbarton in Scotland, which is likewise to go for the said plantation of New Scotland, to pass from the Thames, as being for the King's particular service, without paying custom, subsidy, or any other duty, and free from any other let or impediment.

On the 26th of March, 1628, we find Charles I. giving a pass to Sir William Alexander, son to Sir William, the Secretary of Scotland, for four ships, to be sent out to Newfoundland, the River of Canada, and New Scotland, for settling colonies in those parts, and for other lawful affairs.

On the 23d of April, of the same year, a commission was issued to sheriffs, bailiffs, and other officers, to apprehend and bring to punishment such persons as had entered into engagements with Sir William Alexander, to be transported for the plantation of New Scotland, but had "abandoned that service and runne away."

In a petition to the King, relating to New Scotland, by certain Lords, dated the 18th November, 1628, they say, "we are verie hopefull that as the said Sir William Alexander has sent furth his sonne with a colonie to plant there this last yeere, so it shall be secured," &c.

In a letter of the King to the Council, on the 17th of October, 1629, he asks them to take measures to raise voluntary

tary contributions to aid in sending out settlers for New Scotland, from some of the Highland clans, and he approves of this method of advancing the plantation, "and for debor- dening that our kingdome of that race of people which, in former times, hade bred soe many troubles ther."⁵⁹

On the 17th of November of the same year the King, in a communication to the Council in relation to a badge to be worn by the Knights Baronets of New Scotland, and other matters relating to them, says, Sir William Alexander, our principal secretary, "whoe these many yeirs bygone has been at great charges for the discoverie thareof, hath now in end fetled a Colonie thare, where his sone, Sir Williame, is now resident."

The King also addressed the following letter to Sir William, the younger, while governor of New Scotland, bearing date May 13, 1630:—

"Trustie, &c. Heaving wnderstood by your letter, and more ample by report of others, of the good successe of your voyage, and of the carefull and provident proceeding for planting of a colonie at Port Royall, which may be a means to settle all that cuntrie in obedience, We give you hartlie thanks for the same, and doe wish you (as wee are confident you will,) to continew, as you have begune, that the wark may be brought to the intendit perfectione; which wee will esteem as one of the most singulare services done vnto vs, and of you accordinglie, and of everle one of your company, that have been good instruments in the same, as wee shall have a testimonie of them from you. Soe recommending vnto you that you have a special care before you return, to tak a good coarfe for government of the Colonie during your absence Wee bid you farewell. Whitehall, the 13 day of May 1630."

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⁵⁹ See Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 48.

The colony referred to in these passages was sent out in the summer of 1628, under the charge of Sir William Alexander, junior, as Governor, and settled at Port Royal. A few of the old French colonists, who had not been transported to France after Captain Argall had broken up the settlement in 1613, were found in possession. Claude La Tour was in chief command, who appears to have received the Scotch with cordiality and to have yielded readily to the new administration. The Indians of that region also entered into a friendly alliance with the Governor, selecting one of their number, Sagamore Segipt, to visit England and crave from the King protection against the French. This embassy was accomplished in 1630, and the King's protection assured.⁶⁰

We presume the colony was not numerous or composed of

⁶⁰ The Rev. Joseph Mead, in a letter dated Christ College, Feb. 12, 1629-30, to Sir Martin Stuteville, says: "There came last week to London, the king, queen and young prince of New Scotland, which is the west (sic) part of that tract which was in the patent, which Sir Ferdinando Gorges had for New England; but he consented that Sir William Alexander, a Scot, should have a patent thereof from King James, anno 1621, but to be governed by the laws and depend upon the King of England. . . . This king comes to be of our king's religion, and to submit his kingdom to him, and to become his homager for the same, that he may be protected against the French of Canada. Those savages arrived at Plymouth were a while entertained at my Lord Poulet's, in Somersetshire, much made of, especially my lady of the savage

queen: she came with her to the coach, when they were to come to London, put a chain about her neck with a diamond valued by some at near £20. The savages took all in good part, but for thanks or acknowledgment made no sign or expression at all." — *Court and Times of Charles I.*, by Thomas Birch, D.D., London, 1849, Vol. II. p. 60.

The following letter of Charles I. was addressed to the Governor of Plymouth, England, in December, 1629, — which evidently relates to this embassy: —

[CHARLES R.]

"Whereas Wee haue directed Samuel Jude, post of our toune of Plymouth, to repair thither for conducting, and bringing hither to our Court, one of the commanders of Cannada, attended by some others of that countree, whoe is directed to us, in name of the
rest,

of persons of a very high type of character. If to fill up the number needed it was deemed expedient to force them to their contract by the aid of sheriffs and bailiffs; if voluntary contributions were necessary to fit out such impoverished Highlanders as the King describes, and of whom he intimates that if they left their country it would be for their country's good, we cannot suppose that many applications to join the expedition were made by the better sort. We are informed that seventy Scotch colonists attempted to winter there, probably in 1630, but, owing to insufficient accommodations, thirty of them died.⁶¹ They built a fort near the present site of Granville, the outlines of which a few years since were still to be traced.⁶²

It is most likely that a large part of the colonists were stationed at Port Royal, the present site of Annapolis, and that the fort at Granville was an outstanding post, designed primarily to prevent the entrance of a French fleet into Annapolis Bay. However this may have been, Sir William Alexander gave the necessary directions to Captain Andrew Forrester, who was at that time in command at Port Royal, and the whole colony was removed at the end of, at most,

four

rest, Wee doe heirby will and require you to give vnto him all the lawfull fortherance shalbe found requisit for thare conducting and transportatione hither, with all such provifiones as they haue to bring along with them, And that you signifie this our pleasour to any others whom it may concern.

"To our trustie and well beloved Sir James Bagg Knight, Governour of our toune of Plymmouthe, and to all other our officers, to whome thes presents doethe or may concern." — *Royal Let-*

ters, Charters, and Tracts, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 52. For the promise of the king's protection to the Indians, see *idem*, p. 63.

⁶¹ "Ledit père de la Tour fit aussi rapport qu'il estoit mort trente Escot-fais, de septante qu'il estoient en cet hyvernement, qui avoit esté mal accommodez." — *Voyages de Champlain*, Paris, 1830, Vol. II. p. 351.

⁶² Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1829, Vol. I. p. 45.

four years after their arrival, and thus terminated all actual plantation by Sir William Alexander within the bounds of New Scotland.⁶³

But while the removal of the colony was conceded by Charles I., and acquiesced in by Sir William Alexander as a necessity, they by no means regarded this concession as carrying with it their right to the soil of New Scotland.

The treaty of St. Germain en Laye, of the 29th of March, 1632, stipulated that the King of Great Britain should "give up and restore all the places in New France, La Cadie, and Canada, occupied by the subjects of his Majesty of Great Britain, and to make them withdraw from the said places."⁶⁴

In several letters of Charles I., of subsequent date, he repeatedly states that he simply purposed to restore and put things as they were before the war, that he never had any intention of quitting his right or title to New Scotland, and gives the strongest assurances that he would protect his subjects, who should undertake to establish colonies there, or engage in trade.

There is evidence, distinct and conclusive, that it was mutually understood by the French and English, that the latter

⁶³ Ferland, as quoted by Mr. Murdoch, represents that there were a *hundred* Scotch colonists left at Port Royal at one time, probably in 1629: he also says that the colony, finally receiving no succor, were beleaguered by the Indians, and all fell victims to the savages or disease, one family only escaping. This latter statement may refer to a remnant which may not have been removed by Sir William Alexander. — *Murdoch's Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1865, Vol. I. pp. 76, 79.

⁶⁴ Treaty of St. Germain en Laye, 29th March, 1632: —

"Art. III. De la part de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, le dit Sieur Ambassadeur, en vertu du pouvoir qu'il a lequel sera inséré en fin des presentes, a promis et promet, pour et au nom de sadite Majesté, de rendre et restituer a sa Majesté très Chrétienne tous les lieux occupés en la Nouvelle France, la Cadie et Canada par les sujets de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, iceux faire retirer dedits lieux," &c.

latter did not by the surrender of Port Royal, or the removal of the Scotch colony, invalidate any previous right or title which they may have had to the soil. This is plainly apparent in the manifesto of Charles I., issued at the palace at Greenwich on the 28th July, 1631, in which the reasons and conditions for delivering up Port Royal, not including Canada or any other territories, are specially stated, and in which he declares that the surrender is to be made without prejudice to his own right or title, or that of his subjects for ever.

The language of the treaty is harmonious with this manifesto, and entirely consistent with the King's oft-repeated and emphatic statements.⁶⁵ The giving up and restoring *all places* in La Cadie, *occupied* by the English, was not giving up La Cadie itself. It is to be observed that the boundaries of the territories claimed by the French and English, on our north-eastern coast, were at that time wholly undefined. Patents had been granted by both, covering the same territory.

The patent of La Cadie, granted by Henry IV. of
France,

⁶⁵ The following excerpt from the manifesto or patent of Charles I., *pro rege Gallorum*, above referred to, will show that he intended Louis XIII. to understand fully, that in removing the occupants of Port Royal he did not surrender his right to the territory: —
"Consensimus desertionem facere fortalicii seu castri et habitationis Portus Regalis, vulgo *Port Royall*, in Nova Scotia, qui flagrante adhuc bello vigore diplomatis seu commissionis sub regni Scotiæ sigillo pro derelicto captus et occupatus fuerat, et illud tamen sine ullo prejudicio juris aut tituli nostri aut subditorum nostrorum in posterum." — *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 69.
In the warrant of Charles I. to Sir William, bearing date July 10, 1631, to have the colony removed, he says: "We haue condescendend that Port Royall shall be putt into thee state it was befor the beginning of the late warre, that no pairtie may have any advantage ther dureing the continuance of

France, to De Monts, in 1603,⁶⁶ describes it as included between the 40th and the 46th degrees of north latitude, consequently embracing the whole territory on our Atlantic coast, from a point as far south as Philadelphia, and extending to the northern limit of the Bay of Fundy.

The patent of New England, granted by James I. of England,

of the same and without derogation to any preceeding right or title be virtue of anything done, other then or to be done by the doing of that which we command at this tyme ;" &c. — *Idem*, p. 68.

The above statement of the King was reiterated on Feb. 19, 1632, in which he says the signature for £10,000 sterling, which he had granted to Sir William, was in no ways for quitting his title or possession of New Scotland or any part of it, but simply to indemnify him for his losses in removing his colony in fulfilment of the King's treaty with the Sovereign of France. — *Idem*, p. 72.

Again, on the 14th June, 1632, nearly three months after the date of the treaty of St. Germain, the King, in a communication to the Advocate for New Scotland, directs him to draw up a warrant to pass under the great seal, for Sir William to go on, and that "he may have full assurance from us in *verbo principis*, that as we have never meant to relinquish our title to any part of these countreys which he hath by patents from us, so we shall ever hereafter be ready by our gracious favour to protect him and all such as have or shall hereafter at any tyme concur with him, for the advancement of the plantations in these boundis." — *Idem*, p. 76.

On the 16th of June, 1632, two months and a half after the signing of the Treaty of St. Germain, Sir William Alexander, in anticipation of the designs of the French in New Scotland, wrote as fol-

lows: "The possessing of it by the French immediatlie vpon the late Treatie, though it bee not warranted by the Treatie, if some speidie act do not disprove it, will be held to be authorised by it." — *Idem*, p. 77.

He proceeds to state that the French had that very year sent 300 men to New Scotland, and that the next year they intended to send ten ships with planters. He suggests that a commission be appointed to devise means for advancing his Majesty's interests in those parts.

"Pour représenter notre persone au pais, territoires, côtes et confins de la Cadie, à commencer dès le quarantième degré jusques au quarante-sixième." — *Lettres Patentes pour le Sieur De Monts; Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, par M. Lescarbo, Paris, 1866, Vol. II. p. 410.

The bounds of New France, as defined in the following excerpt, indicate both the indefiniteness and extent of the claim to American territory set up by the French more than thirty years after the treaty of St. Germain:—

"Novæ Franciæ nomen immensos illos tractus designat Americæ, quæ ad Septentriones obuertitur, a Florida usque, hoc est a gradu secundo et tricesimo, ad Circulum Polarem, in latum; in longum, ab Insulâ *Terræ-Novæ*, quam vocant, ad Magnum Lacum, vulgò *Mare dulce*, et vltra: qui ambitus vtrinque maior est, quam tota vetus Francia pateat." — *Creuxius, Historia Canadensis*, Paris, 1664, p. 46.

England, to the Council of Plymouth, on the 3d November, 1620, embraced the territory from sea to sea lying between the 40th and the 48th degrees of north latitude, that is, from the latitude of Philadelphia to the middle of the Bay of Chaleur, on the northern limits of the province of New Brunswick.

It is plain from these two patents, to say nothing of earlier and less definite ones, that the territory in question was claimed both by the French and the English.

As the treaty of 1632 did not establish the boundary between the two nations, or refer to it in any way, but simply provided for the surrender of the places taken in the late war, and the removal of the colonists who had settled in them, that every thing might be as it was before hostilities commenced, it is obvious that it left the claim which each put forth to the territory precisely where it was before.

Whether the French or the English were right in the claim which they laid to this territory, is a question which we need not at this time decide, or even discuss. It is a problem which, at that period, the two nations had not themselves solved to their mutual satisfaction, and it is most likely, if the same points should arise at this day, touching the nature and limitations of discovery and occupation, and the right conferred by them, there would be in any, given case submitted to arbitration a great diversity and conflict of opinion.

But the withdrawal of the English from the territory gave a great advantage to the French. They immediately
took

took possession; and, as they were quite able to hold it, the treaty gave them, even under the English interpretation, nearly all they could desire. Once in occupation, the territory could only be wrested from them at the point of the sword. This was not attempted for many years. Consequently Sir William Alexander's rights remained in abeyance, but were by no means surrendered.⁶⁷

Under these circumstances, all that Sir William and his Knights Baronets were able to do, for several years, did not extend far beyond promises and hopeful predictions on paper; while Louis XIII., through the powerful agency of the Company of New France, under the wise counsels of the astute Richelieu, at once planted several colonies on the disputed domain, accompanied with adequate means for their maintenance and protection.

While the hope was entertained by the English, that at some favorable moment, not far distant, they should be able to take possession of the territory which they claimed and believed to be theirs by right, the disposition of the soil in connection with the creation of Knights Baronets was still continued; and from the date of the treaty of St. Germain en Laye in 1632, to near the close of the year 1638, twenty-nine new names were added to the list of Knights Baronets.

On the 30th day of April, 1630, Sir William Alexander
granted

⁶⁷ The French, having held possession of New Scotland for a series of years, assumed, as Sir William Alexander suggested they would do, that they held it by virtue of the treaty of St. Germain; and this appears to have been conceded by the English Commissioners, when it had ceased to be for their interest to resist this interpretation.—*Memorials of the English and French Commissioners*, London, 1755, Vol. I. p. 401.

granted a part of the territory of New Scotland to Sir Claude de Saint Etienne or Etienne, Knight, Lord of La Tour and of Vuarre, and to Charles de Saint Etienne, Esq., Lord of Saint Deniscourt, his son, they to hold on the condition that they should be good and faithful subjects of the King of Scotland.⁶⁸ This grant covered an area extending from the sea inland from thirty to forty-five miles, and reaching from near the present site of Yarmouth, north-easterly to that of Lunenburg, comprising about the same territory that is now included in the Counties of Shelburne, Queens, and about half of the County of Lunenburg. This was but a fraction of the vast tract covered by Sir William's original patent, which includes not only the present Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but all of that part of Canada East lying south of the St. Lawrence, north of New Brunswick, and east of a line drawn from the head waters of the river St. Croix, northerly to the river St. Lawrence.

It is not known that any record of this grant to the La Tours was made in Scotland, nor is there any hint of its existence in any of Sir William's correspondence.⁶⁹

The French came into actual possession about this time; and the next year, Feb. 11, 1631, Louis XIII. of France commissioned Charles de Saint Etienne, the younger La Tour, one of the grantees, as Lieutenant-General of La Cadie.⁷⁰ The territory which he had received from Sir William

⁶⁸ The grantees are generally known as Claude and Charles La Tour.

⁶⁹ Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, by David Laing, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 24.

⁷⁰ MSS. from archives of the marine at Paris, as referred to by Mr. Murdoch. — *Hist. Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1865, Vol. I. p. 79.

liam Alexander was consequently within his civil jurisdiction as the viceroy of the King of France; and he appears, moreover, to have obtained at a later period a confirmation, by the King of France, of any grant⁷¹ which he had previously received from the English. So that he was quite secure in his possessions, and so far forth it mattered little to him whether the sovereignty of the territory was in the French or the English. But the validity of his deed from Sir William Alexander was conditioned upon his loyalty to Charles I., containing, as it did, a promise of fealty to the King of Scotland, a clause in the instrument, which, if known in France, would doubtless not only have rendered his claim nugatory, but otherwise have endangered his interests while he was holding the high office of Lieutenant under the French King.

A record of this grant to the La Tours is, however, found in the Registry of Deeds in the county of Suffolk, Massachusetts, where it was recorded August 24, 1659, Lib. 3, folio 276.⁷² At the time that this entry was made,

the

⁷¹ Charles la Tour enjoyed a divided authority in La Cadie for many years. — *Memorials of English and French Commissaries*, London, 1755, Vol. I. p. 337, *et passim*. Louis XIV. in 1651 appointed him Governor of that territory, confirming to him his personal possessions there in the following words:

“Voulons et entendons que le dit Sieur de Saint Etienne se réserve et approprie et jouisse pleinement et paisiblement de toutes les terres à lui cédant précédentes, et d'icelles en donner et départir telle part qu'il adviendra tant à nosdits sujets, qui se habitueront

qu'aux dits originaires, ainsi qu'il jugera bon être.” — *Idem*, Vol. I. p. 43.

⁷² The following is a description of the grant, as laid down in the instrument recorded as above: “All the Country, Coasts and Islands, from the Cape and River of Ingogon, nere unto the Clouen Cape,^(a) in the said New Scotland, called the Countrey and Coast of Accadye, following the Coast and Islands of the said Countrey towards the East unto Port de la Tour,^(b) formerly

(a) Cape Fourchu (*fourchu*, cloven). (b) Near the river Clyde.

the whole coast of La Cadie, from Canfo to New England, was in the possession of the English.

In 1654, an expedition under the command of Major Robert Sedgwick, of Charlestown, Mass., authorized by the General Court, with the secret order or connivance, as is supposed, of the Protector Cromwell, had secured the surrender by the French, of Penobscot, Saint John, Port Royal, La Heve, Cape Sable, and Cape Fourchu; and the whole of La Cadie, under the widest interpretation of its meaning, remained subject to England for the next thirteen years.

It now became safe, and moreover expedient, as there was a fair prospect that the English possession would be permanent, for Charles La Tour to secure the grant which he had received and which he could now hold under English law, by placing his title upon record; and consequently his deed from Sir William Alexander was entered, as we have already stated, in the Suffolk registry, twenty-nine years after the date of its execution.

By the treaty of Breda, in 1667, La Cadie was again restored to France, and this and all other English grants within that territory became inoperative, if, indeed, they were not wholly extinguished.

It

merly named L'omeroy, and further beyond the said Port, following along the said Coast unto Mirliquiesche,^(c) nere unto and beyond the said Port and Cape of L'Heue,^(d) drawing forward fifteen Leagues within the said Lands towards the North."

To the La Tours and their "Heyers

^(c) Lunenburg. ^(d) See map in Haliburton's Nova Scotia.

and Successors and assigns forever," was also granted the "Right of Admiralty in all the extent of their said Lands and Limitts." They were to be good and faithful vassals of the King of Scotland, and of his heirs and successors, and to pay the respect due unto Sir William Alexander as unto the Lieutenant of the King.

It is remarkable that several writers distinctly state that Sir William Alexander sold the whole of his interest in New Scotland, with, perhaps, the exception of a small territory about Annapolis, to the La Tours. Of this alleged sale we fail to find any evidence whatever.⁷³

Judge Haliburton says, in his History of Nova Scotia, Vol. I. p. 51, that La Tour, "in the year 1630, received a conveyance, from Sir William Alexander, of the whole of Nova Scotia."

Chalmers (Political Annals, p. 92) says that Sir William "sold almost the whole of his interest in Nova Scotia, to Saint Etienne, a French Huguenot, in the year 1630, upon this condition, that the inhabitants of it should continue subjects of the Scottish crown."⁷⁴

Mr.

⁷³ We know not how the report that Sir William Alexander sold the whole of his interest in New Scotland in 1630 originated, unless through the loquacious Sir Thomas Urquhart. This writer asserts in good round terms, in a volume published in 1652, that Sir William sold to the French the whole of his interest in New Scotland for five or six thousand pounds English money. The reader who will take the trouble to examine the passages relating to Sir William Alexander, which have been too often quoted from this author, cannot, we think, fail to see that he is amusing himself in the rhetoric of a clever burlesque; and whoever refers to it to establish a fact in history, might as well appeal to the adventures of the illustrious Knight of La Mancha, or to the Travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, for a similar purpose.

⁷⁴ Bouchette reiterates the statement,

on the authority of Chalmers, that Alexander sold almost the whole interest he had in New Scotland to Sieur St. Etienne. — *Bouchette's British North Am.*, Vol. I. p. 4.

"Intelligence was brought this year to Massachusetts, that, in 1630 or 1631, Sir William Alexander had sold the country of Nova Scotia to the French." — *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass.*, Boston, 1795, Vol. I. p. 33.

The English Commissioners in 1751 likewise state that "In the year 1630, in Consideration of their great Expenses, and the Services done by them in promoting Settlements within that Country, he [Sir William Alexander] conveyed by deed to the said Claude de la Tour and his son, and their Heirs for ever, all his Right in Nova Scotia, excepting Port-Royal, to be held under the crown of Scotland." — *Memorials of the English and French Commissioners*,

Mr. Laing, in his Preface to Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, p. 98, says that Sir William conveyed to La Tour "his title to the whole of Nova Scotia, (with the exception of Port Royal,) to be held of the Crown of Scotland."

None of these writers refer to any authority for their statements. We are satisfied that none exists. The reasons on which our conclusions are based, are briefly as follows:

First. If nearly the whole of New Scotland was sold or transferred by Sir William Alexander to the La Tours, in 1630, as is alleged, it is not probable that all the proper evidence of such a transfer, in the form of a deed or charter, either recorded or deposited in the archives of Scotland, or France, or any of the British Colonies in America, or any where else, would have eluded, as it certainly has done, if any such instrument exists, all historical research for at least two hundred and forty years.

Second. If Sir William transferred nearly the whole of New Scotland to the La Tours, as is alleged, in 1630, with the condition of fealty to the King of Scotland, it is not probable that he would have transferred a fraction of it, perhaps a fifteenth or twentieth part of it, by a separate deed, the same year, on the same conditions and to the same parties, as we know he did do, as is proved by the deed to which we have referred in the Suffolk registry.

Third.

ries, London, 1755, Vol. I. p. 41. The deed referred to in this passage was undoubtedly no other than that recorded in the Suffolk registry. — *Antea*, p. 74. These Memorials partake necessarily so much of a partisan character as to detract very much from their historical value. They attempt to establish the limits of La Cadie, a problem which was in its nature insoluble, inasmuch as its limits varied from time to time, according to the power of its possessor to grasp and hold more or less territory under that name.

Third. If Sir William transferred nearly the whole of New Scotland to the La Tours, in 1630, it is not probable that the grantees would have presented a deed from Sir William Alexander, of a small fraction of the same territory, to be recorded in the Suffolk registry, twenty-nine years after the instrument was executed. If they had a title to nearly the whole, they clearly would not have put upon record at that late day the evidence, or what was tantamount to it, that they had a title to only a very small part. The same reason which induced the La Tours, or their representatives, to put upon record in 1659 the conveyance which they held from Sir William of a small part of his territory, would have induced them to put upon record the instrument conveying the whole, if any such instrument had ever been executed.

Fourth. Sir William Alexander continued to resign from time to time his right to large tracts of land in New Scotland in connection with the creation of Knights Baronets long after 1630, the period when he is alleged to have conveyed the whole of it to the La Tours. More than thirty noblemen became Knights Baronets of New Scotland after 1630. This honor could not be obtained except in connection with the surrender and transfer to them of lands in New Scotland. These transfers by Sir William, amounting to not less than 540 square miles, or 345,600 acres, are therefore wholly inexplicable, indeed we may add impossible, on the supposition that he had sold or conveyed his interest to the La Tours in 1630, as is alleged.

We may add also that on the 14th of September, 1633,
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three years after the alleged sale to La Tour, a commission was granted under the great seal, to the Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and seven other distinguished officials and gentlemen, for passing of enfeoffments in New Scotland, and that they accepted the commission with all the requisite forms on the 15th of February, 1634. It was the office and duty of this commission to convey to the Knights Baronets the lands surrendered by Sir William to the Crown, so that they held their lands not from Sir William Alexander, but, through this commission, virtually from the King. This appointment would therefore have been a mockery and a farce if Sir William had at that time no lands in New Scotland to surrender into their hands.

In view of all the facts in the case, we are fully satisfied that Sir William Alexander did not cease to hold, to the close of his life, a very large part of the territory of New Scotland, which became vested in him in 1621 by virtue of his charter or grant from James I. This grant covered in general terms about the same territory now included in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the department of Rimouski, Bonaventure, and Gaspé. The area of the whole grant could not have been less, we presume, than 54,000 square miles. If Sir William conveyed even one-fifteenth of it to the La Tours, and if he had succeeded in obtaining 150 Knights Baronets, and had resigned in favor of each of them twenty-four square miles on an average, he would still have had left more than 45,000 square miles in his own right. Hence Sir William very properly, as we have already intimated, continued to make sales of baronies
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in his American territory till within about two years of his death. It is clearly absurd to suppose that he could have done this, except on the theory that by the resignation of his own rights the Knights Baronets could obtain as good a title to the lands included in the baronies, as Sir William had himself received by his charter under the great seal.

The transfer of the large tract of land, though but a fraction of the whole territory included in his patent, made by Sir William to the La Tours, father and son, in 1630, as recorded in the Suffolk registry of deeds, was undoubtedly the foundation of the rumor that prevailed a few years after his death, that he had sold to them the whole, or nearly the whole, of his interest in New Scotland. Having once gained a place in the pages of respectable writers, it appears to have been reiterated by nearly every historian who has had occasion to refer to the subject, for the last two hundred years, yet no one of them has ever pointed out the faintest ray of evidence on which the statement could rest, nor expressed a doubt of its truth.

In the circumstances which we have just recounted, we have an example, not altogether uncommon, of the manner in which rumor sometimes forces itself into the place of fact, and thereby the truth of history becomes distorted, the motives of men are misinterpreted, and the innocent are loaded with imaginary crimes.

On the 18th of July, 1622, soon after Sir William Alexander obtained his grant of New Scotland from James I., the Lords of the Privy Council directed "Charles Dikkiesoun, squire of his Maiesties Irnis," to grave and sink a seal to be used

used by Sir William in the office of Lieutenant of Justice and Admiralty, conferred upon him in the terms of his charter. The following is the description of the seal given in the directions to the die-sinker:—

“On the ane fyde his Majesteis armes within a sheild, the Scottis armes being in the first place, with a clofe crowne aboue the armes, with this circomescriptioun SIGILLUM REGIS SCOTIÆ ANGLIÆ FRANCIE ET HIBERNIÆ; and, on the other fyde of the seale, his Maiesteis portrait in armour, with a crowne on his heade ane sceptour in the ane hand, and ane globe in the other hand, with this circomescriptioun PRO NOUÆ SCOTIÆ LOCUM TENENTE.”⁷⁵

Six years later, when a colony was about to be established in New Scotland, and the time was apparently arrived for the immediate use of a seal, the Lords of the Privy Council directed, on the 18th day of March, 1628, “Charles Dickieson, finkear of his Majesteis yrnies, to make grave and finke ane Seale of the office of Admiraltie of New Scotland, to be the proper Seale of the said office.”

“The said Seale having a shippe with all her ornaments and appar-ralling, the mayne faile onelie displayed with the armes of New Scotland bearing a Saltoire with ane scutcheon of the ancient armes of Scotland, and vpon the head of the said shippe careing ane vnicorne fittand and ane savage man standing vpoun the sterne both bearing St Androes Croce And that the great Seale haue this circumscription, SIGILLUM GULIELMI ALEXANDRI MILITIS MAGNI ADMIRALLI NOVI SCOTIÆ.”

We may here add that the Lieutenant and each of the Knights Baronets were authorized by royal mandate to wear a badge, as a distinction and a mark of honor, and
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⁷⁵ Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 15.

any infringement upon this right was punishable by fine or imprisonment.

The order was communicated by Charles I., in a letter to the Privy Council, bearing date Nov. 17, 1629, in the following terms:—

“We have been pleased to authorise and allow, as be theis presents for ws and our succeffors we authorise and allow, the said Lewetennent and Baronettis, and everie one of them, and thare heirs male, to weare and carry about their neckis in all time coming, ane orange tauney-filk ribbane, whairon shall hing pendant in a scutchion *argent* a faltoire *azeuer*, thairon ane inscutcheeine of the armes of Scotland, with ane imperiall croune above the scutchone, and incircled with this motto, FAX MENTIS HONESTÆ GLORIA.”

In a letter of Charles I. to Sir James Balfour, Lyon King . at Arms, dated the 15th of March, 1632, he was ordered to marshal the arms of Sir William Alexander, who had then recently been made a peer of Scotland under the title of Viscount Stirling, as follows:—

[CHARLES R.]

“Trustie, &c. We haue bene latelie pleased to confer vpon our right, &c SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER Knyt our principall Secretarie for Scotland the title of VISCOUNT STIRLING as ane degrie of honour which we haue esteemed due to his merite And to the effect ther be nothing wanting which is vsuall in this kynd that this our favour and the remembrance of his good and faythfull services done vnto ws may be in record Our pleasur is and We doe heirby requyre yow according to the dewtie of your place to marshall his Coate Armour alloweing it to him quartered with the Armes of Clan Allaister who hath acknowledged him for cheiff of their familie, in whois armes according to the draught which we send you heirwith, quartered with his coat, We ar willing to confirme them Requyreing yow to Register them accordinglie; and we
doe

doe further allow to the said Viscount Stirling the armes of the countrie of New Scotland in ane inescutichione as in a badge of his endeavours in the enterprying of the work of that plantation which doe tend so much to our honour and the benefite of our subjects of that our kingdome: and withall to fitt his said Coat with a convenient crest and supporters such as may be acceptable vnto him; ffor doing whairof, and for registering of this warrand and his Coat in your registers for that purpois, or for drawing such farther warrant as shall be requisite, these presents shall be your warrant."

On the 28th January, 1635, Charles I. directed Sir James Balfour to enter upon his books Sir William's authority to have the arms of New Scotland "quartered in the first quarter with his other coats," but none of the Knights Baronets were to be allowed to quarter their arms in the same manner.

We here give, for the convenience of the heraldic student, a description of the family arms, as contained in the Peerage of Scotland, by Sir Robert Douglas, Bart.:—

ARMS OF THE EARL OF STIRLING:—Quarterly; 1st and 4th, party per pale *argent* and *sable*, a chevron, and in base a crescent, all counter-changed; 2d and 3d *or*, a ship, with the sails furled up *sable*, between three crosses crosslets fitchee *gules*: and over all in furtout, the badge of a baronet of New Scotland, which is *argent*, on a saltire *azure*, the royal arms of Scotland ensigned on the top with an imperial crown, proper.

CREST; on a wreath, a bear sejant erect, proper.

SUPPORTERS; on the dexter side an Indian man, with long hair, and a dart in his right hand, having a plain circle or rim of gold on his head, beautified with a plume of seven feathers *or* and *azure*, and round his waist a like circle and feathers; on the sinister, a mermaid, with her comb and mirror, all proper.

MOTTO; *Per mare per terras.*

In

In addition to the charter of New Scotland, Sir William Alexander received, on the second day of February, 1628, a grant of the River and Gulf of Canada.

This charter, a translation of which may be found in another part of this volume, covered an area of fifty leagues on each side of the river St. Lawrence and the great Lakes, including all the islands within these waters, and extending to the Pacific Ocean, constituting a belt of land three hundred English miles wide, not including in the measurement the river and lakes lying in its centre, reaching from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the shores of California. If we cast our eye upon a map of the United States, we shall see that this charter, by the smallest estimate, covered half of the State of Maine, a third of New Hampshire, nearly the whole of Vermont, more than three-fourths of New York, half of Pennsylvania, more than half of Ohio, all of Michigan, half of Indiana, and so sweeping on and embracing an important section of all the north-western States of the Union.

It will be observed that this grant was obtained at the time when the French and English were at war, and when Sir William Alexander, in connection with Sir David Kirk, was putting forth all his energies in sending out armed vessels to break up the French settlements on our northern coasts, and to plant colonies of his own countrymen, agreeably to the provisions of his charters. He had expended large sums in his various undertakings, in providing ships, ordnance, and munitions of war, in transporting colonists, and in exploring and taking possession of the country.

And

And he was now on the very eve of success. In less than six months after the date of this charter, Kirk had swept away every vestige of French power on our northern coasts. It was undoubtedly in anticipation of this event that this charter, covering all the territory hitherto occupied by the French, was obtained. It was obviously a matter of the greatest importance to the success of Scotch colonization that this territory, reclaimed or conquered by British arms, should be occupied by colonies at once; and there was a fair prospect, should the war continue, that this object would be speedily achieved. But the articles of peace, signed a little before or about the time that Kirk had completed his conquest, snatched from the grasp of Sir William, by a single stroke of the royal pen, all the fruits of his unremitting efforts and exhausting expenditures, which had now been continued for the space of three years. By these articles, the places which had been occupied by the French were all restored, and they lost no time in taking immediate possession; and, after this, we are not aware that Sir William attempted, within the limits of this grant, any actual colonization.

At a parliament held at Edinburgh, Scotland, in June, 1633, the several charters of New Scotland, and that of the River and Gulf of Canada, granted to Sir William Alexander, with all the privileges therein contained, together with the dignity and order of Knights Baronets, and of the acts of the Convention of Estates relating to them, were solemnly ratified and confirmed.⁷⁶

At

⁷⁶ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, Vol. V. p. 43. Copies are in the Library of the Boston Athenæum.

At a meeting of the Great Council for New England, on Nov. 1, 1638, at the house of Lord Stirling, in London, the following entry was made in their records:—

“This day y^e Earle of Sterline’s proportion was augmented and granted to y^e Earle himself, the boundary to begin at St. Croix, next adjoining to New England, and so to pass along y^e sea coast of y^e East side of y^e Bay or River called Sagadahocke, and soe up y^e East side of y^e River thereof to y^e furthest head of y^e same, as it tendeth Northwards, and fro thence at the neereft Northwards to y^e River of Canada and hereunto is to belong y^e Island called Mattox or Long Island.”⁷⁷

The territory here described, except the augmentation, which consisted of the comparatively small territory lying between the Kennebec and the waters of Pemaquid, together with all islands lying within five leagues of the main, opposite and bordering upon Long Island, had been granted by the Council, and a patent issued on the 22d of April, 1635, to Lord William Alexander, the son of Sir William, the Earl of Stirling.⁷⁸

Lord

⁷⁷ See Record of the Council for New England, printed by the American Antiquarian Society in its proceedings, 1867, p. 131; also, Calendar of State Papers, Col. Series, 1574–1660. Sainbury, p. 204. The surrender of their charter by the Council for New England took place in 1635; but as meetings continued to be held for the transaction of business, it is quite possible that the surrender was not legally complete till some time subsequent to this meeting on the 1st of November, 1638.

In the patent of April 22, 1635, the orthography of the Indian name of Long Island is Matowack, and it was stated in the patent that it should hereafter be called the “Isle of Starlinge.”

⁷⁸ The grant was ordered by a vote of the Council, Feb. 3, 1634. — *Records of the Council in Proceedings of Am. Antiq. Society*, 1867, p. 118. It has generally been regarded as having been made to the Earl of Stirling. But the title applied to the grantee in the Patent printed in this volume, in the records
of

Lord Alexander had been admitted as a councillor and Patentee of the New England Company at the same time as his father, on the 29th of January, 1634-5, and this was the portion assigned to him in the division of the territory proposed in the surrender of the charter of the Company in 1635.

It is to be inferred that he afterward transferred this grant to his father, the Earl of Stirling, as we find that the latter appointed an agent⁷⁹ in April, 1637, to visit Long Island, with ample power to sell his lands, and institute a government.

The

of the Council for New England, and in the Colonial State Papers, renders it certain that it was made to his son. Lord Alexander, the proper title by courtesy of the son, is uniformly applied to the grantee, in the above-named documents. A legal paper could hardly have been drawn, certainly not executed, applying an inferior title, especially when the father and son bore the same proper name, and the title alone could distinguish them.

But if the grant had been originally made to the Earl, and he had received a Patent, the vote of the Council to give him what he already had by the strongest title that they could give, would have been an act of pure surplusage.

The language of the vote, that it should be "granted to the Earl *himself*," is quite suggestive of its having been granted to another, but that now it was to be granted to him.

If Lord William Alexander had transferred his patent to his father, the Earl, by any private arrangement, it was natural and proper that the Earl should wish to have a vote of the Coun-

cil placed on record, which should establish and confirm, or give assurance to any title he might hold from his son; and the Council may have acceded to his wishes more readily, since Lord William Alexander, the son, had died a few months before the last meeting of the corporation, held on the 1st of November, 1638.

Whether these suggestions are correct or not, the historical fact, we think, is well established, that the grant was first to the son, but soon after it was made came into the control and ownership of the father.

⁷⁹ The first agent appointed by Sir William Alexander was Mr. George Cleves, but it does not appear that he accomplished any thing in his behalf. — *Winthrop's Hist. New Eng.*, Boston, 1853, Vol. I. p. 277. For Mr. Farrett's authority to act for Sir William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling, see *Doc. Hist. New York*, Vol. III. p. 22. For the acts of Farrett the reader may consult "Index to Southold," by Charles B. Moore, Esq., New York, 1868, p. 16; *Doc. Hist. New York*, Vol. III. p. 21, Vol. II. p. 146-150.

The agent, Mr. James Farrett, continued several years in his service, effecting numerous sales of land, and so far forth laying the foundations of several plantations. The first settlers of Easthampton,⁸⁰ Southampton,⁸¹ Southold, Greenport,⁸² Gardiner's Island,⁸³ Shelter Island and Robin's Island,

⁸⁰ Thompson's History of Long Island, New York, 1843, Vol. I. p. 311.

⁸¹ The first settlers of Southampton were from Lynn, Mass., who, having made a purchase of Mr. Farrett, the agent of Sir William Alexander, and having appeased the Indians by a purchase also from them, landed at or near the present site of Manhasset, with a view of making their settlement at that place, but having been driven off by the Dutch, they finally established themselves at Southampton.

"Divers of the inhabitants of Linne," says Winthrop, "finding themselves straitened, looked out for a new plantation, and going to Long Island, they agreed with the Lord Stirling's agent there, one Mr. Forrett, for a parcel of the isle near the west end, and agreed with the Indians for their right." After giving some account of their difficulties with the Dutch, Winthrop proceeds to say, that they "deserted that place and took another at the east end of the same island; and being now about forty families, they proceeded in their plantation, and called one Mr. Pierfon, a godly learned man, and a member of the church of Boston, to go with them, who, with some seven or eight more of the Company, gathered into a church body at Linne, (before they went,) and the whole company entered into a civil combination (with the advice of some of our magistrates,) to become a corporation."—*Winthrop's Hist. New Eng.*, Boston, 1853, Vol. II. p. 5. See, also,

Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. II. p. 146: *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass.*, Vol. I. p. 88.

Dr. Palfrey refers to this passage in Winthrop, and says that the purchase by the Lynn Company was made of the Indians; but omits the more prominent statement of Winthrop, that the purchase was made of Lord Stirling's agent.—*Palfrey's Hist. New Eng.*, Boston, 1859, Vol. I. p. 604.

⁸² "James Farrett, as the agent of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, gave a deed, dated 15th August, 1640, conveying 150 acres of land to Richard Jackson, at a place long known as Stirling, now Greenport, Long Island. The original deed from Farrett, with regular transfers of title by deeds and wills, is now in the possession of the Moore family."—*M.S. Letter of Charles B. Moore, Esq.*, New York, 20 Feb., 1872. For evidence that the Southolders derived their title from the Earl of Stirling, see *Doc. Col. Hist.*, New York, Vol. III. p. 197.

⁸³ This valuable island, containing about 3,300 acres, was purchased of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, by Lyon Gardiner, March 10, 1639, the claim of the Indians having, as usual, been previously extinguished. The fee of this island has remained in the family, descending strictly in accordance with the English law of primogeniture, down to the present time, and is now owned by Samuel B. Gardiner, Esq., of the eighth generation, but the tenth proprietor, his two elder brothers having

Island, obtained their titles to their lands from the Earl of Stirling, through his agent, Mr. James Farrett. The islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were also conveyed

ing possessed it in turn, but predeceased him without issue. We do not know of any estate in this country, so large as this, which has remained so long in the same family. The original deed from the Earl of Stirling, executed by James Farrett, his agent, is still in existence on Gardiner's Island, and in the possession of the present proprietor. This family has been distinguished through all the generations, and so continues. The wife of the Hon. John Tyler, the tenth President of the United States, was a lineal descendant of Lyon Gardiner. An interesting and humorous letter, showing the tone and quality of the original grantee, bearing date June 12, 1660, may be seen in Thompson's History of Long Island, Vol. I. p. 306.

In 1686, Thomas Dongan, Lieutenant-Governor and Vice-Admiral of New York, issued a Patent erecting this island into a Lordship, entitled the Manor of Gardiner's Island. In this instrument the title is traced to James Farrett, Gentleman and Deputy to the Right Honorable, the Earl of Stirling, Secretary for the Kingdom of Scotland, and late Proprietor of Long Island. — See *Chronicles of Easthampton*, by David Gardiner, New York, 1871, p. 117.

Lyon Gardiner, the patentee of Gardiner's Island, was an expert engineer, and had seen service in Holland. He arrived in Boston on the 28th of November, 1635, on his way to the Connecticut, where he had been engaged to construct a fortress by the younger John Winthrop, who had then recently been appointed governor of the plantation about to be established at the mouth of that river. During his brief stay in Boston, the citizens availed themselves

of his skill, as an engineer, in completing the fortresses already begun by Governor Winthrop on Fort Hill. It was agreed in town-meeting that there should be a contribution of about fourteen days' work for each citizen; and, to carry out the orders, an able committee was appointed, which consisted of the deputy governor, Mr. Bellingham, the celebrated Sir Henry Vane, Governor John Winthrop, John Winthrop, junior, Mr. William Coddington, Captain John Underhill, and Mr. William Brenton. Under the direction of this energetic committee, and Lieutenant Gardiner's skill, the work soon assumed the dignity and proportions of a fort. It was a simple structure, eminently adapted to its purpose, and continued in use till after the war of the Revolution. Sir Edmund Andros sought protection within its walls in 1689 (Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., Vol. I. p. 335), and it is said that it was the contemplated site for a hospital for children in 1713. But Fort Hill has ceased to be a landmark in the city of Boston. Its removal, projected in 1865, has been consummated. This eminence, lifting itself up abruptly eighty feet above the surrounding neighborhood, has entirely disappeared. The level area on which it rested was occupied immediately after the great fire, on the 9th and 10th of November last (1872), by temporary warehouses, and from them our thriving merchants are now dispensing their goods beneath the spot where the skilful Gardiner planned, and the joint wisdom of the Winthrops, Sir Henry Vane, Bellingham, and their compeers, furnished the material and superintended the structure of the first military work erected in Boston.

conveyed by Sir William Alexander's agent to Thomas Mayhew and his son, Thomas, junior, in 1641. The sales thus made appear to have covered the whole eastern end of the island, from Little Peconic Bay to Montauk Point, and the titles of many of the estates in that vicinity may be traced back to the Earl of Stirling as the original proprietor.

The deeds executed by Mr. Farrett were conditioned on the payment of an annual rent, or "acknowledgment," to Sir William Alexander, or his heirs; and in most instances, if not in all, the amount to be so paid was referred to Governor Winthrop, senior, to be fixed by him, or by such magistrates of Massachusetts Bay as should be chosen by Sir William, or his deputy, for that purpose.

It was also stipulated that the government to be established should be such as already existed in the colony of Massachusetts, and the purchasers were guaranteed all the privileges enjoyed by the patentees of that province. Soon after the death of the Earl, in February, 1640-1, Mr. Farrett's agency ceased. In 1647, Mary, the widowed Countess of Henry, the third Earl of Stirling, sent over Captain Andrew Forrester, as her agent, to take charge of her estates on Long Island, but the Dutch gave him an unfriendly reception. Governor Stuyvesant placed him on board the ship "Falconer," bound to Holland, but the vessel forced by a storm into Spithead, he was relieved from his imprisonment by the commander of an English man-of-war. For some years after this, little attention was given to this inheritance by Sir William's heirs, until they finally entered into a contract, about the year 1663, to sell the property to the Duke of York,

York,⁸⁴ who received the next year from Charles II. a patent, which included this territory.

The negotiation for the purchase was conducted by Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, with Henry, the fourth Earl of Stirling; and the sum agreed upon to be paid by the Duke of York was £3,500 sterling.

But the purchaser was tardy in the fulfilment of his contract; indeed, no payment whatever appears ever to have been made.

In the year 1674, a new arrangement was entered into, by which the principal sum of £3,500 was commuted for a life-interest to the Earl, of £300 per annum, to be paid from the revenues of the colony of New York after all other charges and colonial expenses had been liquidated.

There does not appear to have been any surplus revenue for at least fifty years; or, if so, it was not applied in fulfilment of this contract.

In 1712, when the unpaid annuities with their interest amounted to £9,600, the Board of Trade reported to the Lord High Treasurer that they did not know whether there had been any surplufage in the revenue to meet this indebtedness.

With this announcement of official ignorance and indifference, all recognition of even the justice of the claim fades henceforth from the public records.

As

⁸⁴ *Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland* erland, translated by Henry C. Murphy, New York, 1849, p. 25.
weghens de Ghelegentheydt, Vruchtbaerhydt, en Soberen Staet desselfs, Mr. Savage says, in a note in Winthrop's Hist. New Eng., Vol. II. p. 7, 1650; or, Representation of New Neth-
"Andrew

As early as the autumn of 1629, measures were taken to form a Society for conducting the business of fishing on a large scale on the west coast of Scotland. It was proposed to establish a stock company; to furnish two hundred vessels of between 30 and 50 tons each, which were to be properly equipped with men and material for carrying on the business. The Isle of Lewis was to be the head-quarters or centre of the enterprise, while the fishing-grounds were to extend along the whole western line of the Scottish coast.

It was important to British interests in forming the Company that the scheme should be well adjusted, and particularly in reference to the Dutch,⁸⁵ who were powerful competitors in the development of this source of national wealth.

"Andrew Forrester is an odd perversion of James Forrett." The editor of Winthrop has here fallen into an "odd" mistake. Andrew Forrester and James Forrett (or more correctly Farrett) are two quite distinct persons. James Farrett, and not Andrew Forrester, as erroneously stated by Mr. Savage, was the agent of Sir William Alexander on Long Island, although Captain Forrester appears to have been his agent at Port Royal fifteen years before this, and was in command there when the Scotch colony was removed from that place.—See *antea*, p. 67; also *Murdoch's Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1865, Vol. II. p. 90.

If the conveyance of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, by Farrett to the Mayhews, was in virtue of the Earl of Stirling's patent of 1635, from the Great Council of New England, it must have been by a liberal interpretation of that instrument. These islands were plainly not within five leagues of the main between the Hudson and Connecticut

rivers, the limitation laid down by the patent. But the right of Stirling to these islands does not appear to have been questioned, indeed it seems to have been conceded, and was included in the grant of Long Island and the other possessions of the Earl of Stirling, made by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, March 12, 1664. It is, however, to be observed that these islands are embraced in the royal grant of the Province of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, April 3, 1639. Mayhew, possibly not satisfied with his title from the Earl of Stirling, obtained a deed likewise from Gorges through his agent, Richard Vines, and when he sold the island of Nantucket to the Salisbury company in 1659, he stated his title to be in the patents which he held both from Stirling and Gorges.

⁸⁵ "The Hollanders yearly tooke worth 300000 pounds of Fish vpon our sea coasts, and in our liberties."—*Vaughan's Golden Fleece*, part 3, p. 77.

wealth. Sir William Alexander's influence and opinion were fought, and had great weight in forming their plans; he was commissioned by the King to present and advocate the scheme of an association among his countrymen in Scotland, which he did with great success.

The company was established on the 19th of July, 1632, by letters patent under the title of "The Counsell and Commountie of the fishing of his Majesty's dominions of Great Britane and Ireland."

The Council was composed of twelve gentlemen, six of whom were required by the charter to be of the Scottish nation, and six were to be of English or Irish ancestry. They held the office by royal appointment; and they, as well as the fellows of the corporation, of whom one hundred and thirty-eight were mentioned by name in the charter, were members for life, subject only to removal for good cause.

To the Council, of which Sir William Alexander was a member from the beginning, all questions and controversies relating to this important interest were referred, and their decisions, or those of the referees appointed by them, were final.

The incorporators were noblemen and gentlemen of influence and wealth, and the King himself regarded the Society with great favor, as an institution of national importance, and cordially gave to it his royal patronage. To enhance its interests, he is said by some writers to have resorted to the unworthy expedient of exacting from his subjects an
unusual

unusual strictness in the observance of Lent,⁸⁶ in which, through a blind superstition, fish, as an article of food, was more largely used to the exclusion of meats.

The affairs of the Company were administered with vigor for several years, encountering opposition more or less embarrassing both from the Highlanders and others; but when the whole kingdom became distracted by civil broils, this enterprise, like many others, came to a disastrous termination.

Sir William Alexander, himself an accomplished scholar, was always the friend and patron of learning. He was deeply interested in the formation of a Royal Academy, a scheme inaugurated in 1616, thoroughly canvassed by men of learning and influence, brought into Parliament, approved by the King, and finally after years of discussion advanced to such a degree of ripeness and perfection that it was on the eve of incorporation by royal charter, when the sudden death of James I., in 1625, proved fatal to its establishment. This institution was intended to promote the national honor and virtue, to encourage learning, to improve the literature

⁸⁶ Before the establishment of this Company, it was the sacrilegious custom to send out, from time to time, Royal Proclamations, "restraining the killing, dressing and eating Flesh in Lent, or on Fish days appointed by law." — *Rymer's Fœdera*, 1626, Vol. XVIII. fol. 822.

The names of the Council for Fishing, as given in the Charter, are as follows: For the Scots: William, Earl of Morton; William, Earl of Strathern; Robert, Earl of Roxburgh; William, Viscount of Stirling; John Hay, Esq.; and George Fletcher, Esq. For

the ENGLISH: Richard, Lord Weston; Thomas, Earl of Arundell and Surry; Philip, Earl of Pembroke; Thomas, Viscount Savage; Francis, Lord Cottington; and Sir John Cooke. — *Acts Parl. Scotland, Charles I.*, Vol. V. p. 239.

Some changes took place soon after; but the name of Sir William Alexander, as Earl of Stirling, still appears, as one of the Council, four years later. — *Calendar of State Papers*, June 23, 1636; *idem*, Aug. 31, 1638; *Penny Cyclopædia*, Vol. X. p. 284.

literature of the age, to quicken the zeal and reward the exertions of those who had attained distinction as poets, scholars, philosophers, antiquaries, and artists. The project engaged the favor of the ablest men and the most brilliant scholars of Great Britain. To it Sir William gave his cordial sympathy, and lent his counsel and influence to advance its interests. He contributed a poem in approbation of its design, and was one of eighty *savans*, who were selected to be its founders, and to be active workers in its administration.⁸⁷

He was likewise at various times appointed on Commissions for the better execution of the laws.

In 1631, with Archbishop Abbot and Archbishop Harcourt, and over thirty other noblemen and persons of distinction, he was appointed to inquire into the execution of the laws relating to the relief of the poor, the binding out of apprentices, the employment of the indigent, the maintenance of houses of correction, payments for the relief of soldiers and mariners, the punishment of vagabonds, the repressing of drunkenness, and to exercise a general watchfulness over the execution of the laws.

In 1633, he was on a Commission for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England and Wales.

In 1638, he was appointed with others to inquire into the breach of the law against excessive usury, scriveners, brokers,

⁸⁷ On the 17th December, 1846, the paper had been prepared and laid before James I. for his special information, and contained the poem by Sir William Alexander, which has probably never been in print.

brokers, and frippers, for taking too great fums for money loaned.

He was also intrusted with other responsible duties relating to the administration of the government both in Scotland and England.

Sir William was the agent of the King for the manufacture and issue of copper coins or "farthing tokens" in Scotland.

On the 30th of June, 1631, Charles I. directed Nicholas Briot, chief graver of the mint in England, to repair to Edinburgh and set up a mint for coining copper into farthings.

The weight and value of the farthings were to be the same as those current in England. But it was afterwards ordered by the King, at the suggestion of Sir William, that the coins should be in three denominations. One weighing 32 grains, another weighing 16 grains, and a third weighing 8 grains; the latter, he adds, "being the weight formerly allowed by you to the farthings."

In payment of £6,000 sterling, granted by James I., and of £10,000, by Charles I., to Sir William Alexander, the latter sum for the losses sustained in the removal of his colony from Port Royal, as is presumed, the King ordered that Sir William should receive his share or royalty arising from this coinage for the space of nine years. Arrangements were made for coining 75,000 stone weight, and more if it should be required. The work was commenced in 1632, but how long it was continued, and with what success in the
payment

that they conform in type and weight strictly to the King's direction. The value placed upon them was probably greater than their intrinsic worth, and they consequently became exceedingly unpopular, and were denounced under the significant title of "Black Money."⁹⁰

Besides the responsibilities growing out of his relations, both public and private, to which we have already alluded, we may add that Sir William Alexander was appointed
Keeper

ings from which the engravings were made. We desire here to express our thanks to Mr. Heywood Chapman, and other officers of the Liverpool Numismatic Society, for many courtesies, and especially for a valuable correspondence relating to the copper coinage of Scotland.

⁹⁰ Black money was a synonyme of base money, or money struck from the less expensive metals. The evils attendant upon the issue of copper coins, such as were under weight, were not confined to Scotland. In the first year of the reign of Charles I., letters patent were granted to the Dukes of Richmond and Lennox, and to Sir Francis Crane, for the exclusive right of making farthing tokens in England, for the term of seventeen years, to weigh six grains apiece, or more at the discretion of the patentees. For this right they were to pay to the King a yearly sum of one hundred marks. The smallness of these tokens caused them to be counterfeited, and encouraged other great abuses. — *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XVIII. p. 143; *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, by *Ruding*, Vol. I. pp. 381, 393. It is not unlikely that the great hostility of the Scots to Sir William Alexander's coins, which were called turners, arose largely out of their hatred to Charles I. and the intense excitement throughout

the whole of Scotland against his administration. The following excerpt from Spalding's Memorials, A.D. 1624-1645, indicates how important and necessary these coins were in the transactions of business, and how the efforts to prevent their circulation resulted in a great inconvenience to the people, and a calamity to the whole kingdom: —

"Nov. 2, 1639. King Charles's turners stricken by the Earl of Stirling, was, by proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh, cryit down frae twa pennies to ane penny; King James's turners to pafs for twa pennies, because they were no less worth; and the caird turners simpliciter discharged as false cunyie. But this proclamation was shortly recalled, because there was no other money passing to make change."

"April, 1640. You see before some order taken with the passing of turners, whereof some was appointit to pafs for ane penny. Now they would give nothing, penny nor half-penny for King Charles's turners; but King James's turners only should pafs. Whereby all change and trade was taken away through want of current money, because thir slight turners was the only money almost passing through all Scotland." — *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, by *Robert Chambers*, Edinburgh, 1858, Vol. II. p. 128.

Keeper of the Signet, in 1627; a Commissioner of the Exchequer, in 1628; an Extraordinary Judge of the Court of Session, in 1631; Commissioner of Surrenders, and Master of Minerals and Metals in Scotland, the last in connection with John Alexander, his son. He was also admitted, on the 29th of January, 1634-5, a Councillor and Patentee of the Corporation for "the Planting, Ruling, Ordering, and Governing of New England, in America."

Each of these offices and enterprises brought its own weight of care and responsibility, and some of them were exceedingly engrossing.

His residence was for the most part in London, at least after the accession of James I. to the throne of England, while he visited Scotland from time to time to attend to public affairs, and to look after the estate which he had inherited at Menstrie. His interests were all identified with Scotland, and when he had passed the meridian of life he began to look to it as the more constant home of his declining years. He erected, as a residence for himself, a baronial edifice on the east side of the Castle Wynd at Stirling. It was in the French style of architecture of that period, with round towers having conical summits, dormer windows richly ornamented with profuse mouldings and other decorations. Its situation was happily chosen on a commanding site, surrounded by scenery of great beauty. Over its principal entrance were the arms of the Earl, and "1632" was engraved upon the wall, indicating the year of its erection. This was the residence of his family, and his own when not occupied with public business in England.

He

He still retained his residence in London in the last years of his life; and, after his death, in 1640-1, this estate at Stirling passed into the possession of the family of Argyle, by whom the arms of Stirling were removed, and their own substituted.⁹¹ The property, sometimes denominated Argyle's Lodging, was still in the possession of the Argyles in 1759.⁹² Subsequently, about the beginning of the present century, it passed to the crown, and this once elegant mansion is now used by the government as a military hospital.

After the death of his son, Lord William Alexander, the heir of his titles and estates, which occurred in 1638, Sir William does not appear to have entered upon any new enterprises, although he continued his efforts to effect settlements on Long Island, to which we have already referred. The disappointments which he had met in his colonial undertakings, the melancholy aspect of the civil affairs of the nation, especially the dark and menacing cloud that hung over his native Scotland threatening all the horrors of

⁹¹ In Billing's *Antiquities of Scotland*, Vol. IV., is an engraving of the house, as it existed in Sir William's day, with the arms of the Earl of Stirling, and the date, 1632. For a cheap wood-cut of the same, see *Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature*, Vol. I. p. 158.

⁹² The Rev. James Porteous of Monyvard, in Perthshire, Scotland, in a letter bearing date April 21, 1759, to Mr. William Alexander, of New York, who claimed and assumed the title of Earl of Stirling, and at that time proposed to take up his residence in Scotland, and who was at a later period a Major-General in the war of the American Revolution, referred to this house as follows:

"I have been this week in Stirling, and took a particular inspection of the house of the first Earl of Stirling, which now belongs to the Duke of Argyle—whereof he makes nothing, and never visits it. It is a fine situation, and has a grand prospect over the most beautiful country and river in the kingdom. A perfect trifle would furnish therein a small lodging, which would answer your purpose, until you proposed to reside with us in Perthshire; and if you intended a grand house, the materials would save two thousand pounds. I am persuaded his Grace would sell it for a trifle."—*Duer's Life of William Alexander*, New Jersey Hist. Soc., New York, 1847, p. 27.

of a civil conflict, the sudden death of his eldest son, in whom were wrapt up his chief hopes for maintaining the distinction of the family for which he had assiduously labored so many years, the financial embarrassments that had been gradually accumulating, and were now overwhelming his private fortune, all these burdens, concentrating as it were with a combined and renewed weight, were more than he could well sustain, and were beginning to make serious and visible inroads upon his physical constitution. Hope, however, did not desert him; and, sustained by an indomitable will, for a few months longer he continued his efforts to redeem his fortunes, with the same zeal, energy, and moderation which had distinguished his whole career.

He died at London in February,⁸³ 1640-1. His body was embalmed, and soon after transported by sea to Scotland. On the 12th of April he was privately buried by night in the family tomb commonly known as "Bowie's Iyle," in the Grey Friars' Church at Stirling.⁸⁴

The reader, who has followed the narrative of Sir William Alexander's life from the beginning, will not fail to recognize in him a combination of extraordinary and even rare qualities. The first decade, after he had arrived at his majority, he devoted to profound study, and made himself master

⁸³ Most contemporary writers do not give the exact date of his death, though all agree that it was February, 1640-1. Granger says he died on the 12th February. — *Biog. Hist. Eng.*, London, 1769, Vol. II. p. 500. This date is also introduced into a pedigree of the Family published in 1836.

⁸⁴ The Grey Friars' Church was erected in 1494. It is a large building,

of Gothic architecture, constructed of hewn stone, with an arched roof supported by two rows of pillars, and has a lofty, massive tower. In 1656 it was divided by a partition-wall, and now constitutes two churches. James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, was here crowned in 1567, when he was thirteen months old.

master of the whole circle of classical learning, which was greatly esteemed and cultivated by men of letters at that period. From these sources he drew largely to illustrate and adorn what he wrote both in prose and in poetry. The prevailing characteristic of his mind was speculative and metaphysical, and King James is said to have called him his philosophical poet. While he aimed to please, his ultimate and controlling purpose was to instruct; and his tendency to "moralise," especially in his poetry, is so prominent and constant, as to afford little opportunity, even if he had them at his command, for that lively flow of fancy and wit, which constitute attractive, if not necessary, elements in this species of composition. What Pliny said of Silius Italicus may doubtless be justly applied to Alexander: "Scribebat carmina majore cura quam ingenio." But if he had not genius, he had at least the higher graces of talent. While his poetry is obviously the emanation of a profound and highly cultivated mind, we can hardly conceive that it could be popular in any age; but that it was widely read by the scholars of his own time is attested by the numerous editions through which some of it passed, and, especially, in that it was deemed expedient to publish it, in an elegant and sumptuous folio, in the last years of his life.

In the many official stations which he occupied, some of them through a long series of years, he discharged his duties with universal satisfaction. He was Secretary of State for Scotland from 1626 to the day of his death.⁹⁵ The last three years

⁹⁵ Robert Chambers in his *Biographies of Eminent Scotsmen*, Vol. I. p. 45, says that Sir William Alexander's salary, as principal Secretary of State for

years of this period were filled with mad excitement and hostile conflict, the King struggling to maintain an arrogant prerogative, and the Scots raving in a delirium of indignation and sense of wrong. It is hardly probable that a scholar of the dignity, culture, and refinement of Sir William Alexander, imbued likewise with the sentiments of moderation and justice which pervade all his writings, could look with entire complacency upon either of the contending parties. And, accordingly, we fail to find from any public documents, or private journals or letters of that period, which have come to our notice, that he took any part whatever in the controversy, certainly not after the coercive measures, adopted by the King, had fairly taken shape. The version of the Psalms, which Sir William had made, or at least perfected, to accompany the Scotch Service Book of 1637, and for which he had a copyright for twenty-one years, furnished an all-sufficient reason why he should desire the adoption of the Book by the Scots. There was indeed no intrinsic reason to a moderate English Churchman, as he undoubtedly was, against its adoption. It was nearly an exact transcript of the English service, and any theological objections which could be made to the one would stand equally against the other. While it continued to be a matter into which the Scots were to be persuaded, he doubtless urged it with all the skill and power of argument which he possessed. But

we

for Scotland, was £100 per annum. From this we infer that his public offices were scarcely remunerative.

Sir Archibald Acheson, of Glencairn, was eight years conjunct Secretary with him. He died in 1634, and we do not

learn that any successor was appointed. For some account of the celebrated House in Edinburgh occupied by Sir Archibald, see *Robert Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 288.

we have no evidence that he suggested or counselled any measures beyond this.⁹⁶ That he had no sympathy with the ecclesiasticism taught and exemplified by Archbishop Laud, is sufficiently evident from the fact that no trace of it is found in his writings, and, moreover, his agent was authorized by him, while the controversy was at its height, to establish colonies on Long Island, "with as full and free liberty, both in church order and civil government, as the plantations in Massachusetts enjoyed."

His colonial enterprises covered a period of twenty years, reaching from the date of its first charter to the day of his death. These enterprises belong to that class of efforts, relating to discovery and plantation, stretching from John Cabot's time through a hundred and twenty-five years, of which it has been customary to say that "they accomplished nothing." Such a verdict as this, however, is as unphilosophical

⁹⁶ The following, written by Sir William Alexander to Bishop Maxwell of Ross, indicates the general direction of his sympathies, and at the same time the moderation which appears to have characterized his whole course touching the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. His reference of the matter of the Psalms to the judgment of his son and the Bishop of Ross shows that he had no plan of his own to urge, but was willing to leave its whole management in the hands of his friends.

"I thank you heartily for your Book of the Canons, I received yesternight. I was present in the morning when my Lord of Canterbury delivered the Book to the King, which, as soon as his Majesty had read some of it, he delivered unto me, and I was glad to hear him so well pleased therewith. I find some errors in the printer by mistaking or reversing of letters, and therefore have the more care in looking to that in printing of the Service-Book, for Young, the printer, is the greatest knave that I ever dealt with; and therefore trust nothing to him nor his servants but what of necessity you must. [Since] the writing hereof I received a letter from my Lord of [Canter]bury, signifying his Majesty's pleasure for two letters that should be [drawn] up for his hand concerning the authorising of the Book [of Canons, which, God willing, shall come home with the next packet. I hope my son will take such course, with your advice, concerning the Psalms, as shall be fit, to whom I refer the same." — *Lawson's Episcopal Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1844, p. 492.

fopical as it is untrue to the facts of history. All these attempts were a necessary series of experiments, evolving just that empirical wisdom out of which alone could come the permanent and successful plantation of colonies.

In New Scotland, where he put forth prolonged and strenuous efforts, and where he must have expended large sums of money in planting a colony and maintaining it there from two to four years, Sir William Alexander did not reap such fruits of his labors as they seemed to deserve. The removal of his colony, in conformity to certain articles of peace, entered into unadvisedly or else from necessity, was a blow from which no opportunity of recovery was offered during his life. It opened the way for the occupation of the territory by the French, whom nothing but war could displace. And while he hopefully awaited the period when the invaders would be driven off, it did not come till some years after his death.

The most obvious and insuperable difficulty which he met at every stage of his enterprise, and which was common at that time to all others who engaged in colonial undertakings, whether private gentlemen or corporations, was the want of funds adequate to carry forward the work.

The scheme which he devised of dividing up a portion of the territory into baronies, which were to be sold to gentlemen of family, the purchase to carry with it the right to assume a distinguished title of superiority, has something in it which at this day we can hardly contemplate without a feeling of strong disapprobation, not to say contempt.

The personal vanity and self-conceit, which stoop to purchase

chase or to sell what has no value unless it be voluntarily bestowed, are repulsive to a noble mind. But we shall doubtless do injustice both to the grantor and grantees of these baronies, if we fail to remember that there was nothing in this scheme of conferring honors which was not entirely harmonious with the sentiments that prevailed in the civil and social life of that period. We do not learn that any hostility was entertained to the principle on which they were conferred, although very decided opposition was made to them by a minor class of titled gentlemen in Scotland, who had themselves obtained their titles in virtue of their landed estates. Their opposition was made simply on the ground that the recipients of the new honors were to have the precedence over themselves, and not to the principle on which the honors were conferred. Had there been a permanent plantation established in New Scotland, of which there was a fair prospect if there had been no interference by the French, the twenty square miles, or thereabouts, of land to which each of the Knights Baronets was entitled, would perhaps have proved in the end a remunerative investment. The money was doubtless regarded as paid for the real estate conveyed, while the Baronial honors were conferred in virtue of the royal prerogative, and were necessarily subject to caprice, as honorary titles are at the present day. If the King saw fit to reward the patriotic zeal which he recognized in those who were willing to invest some part of their wealth in colonial enterprise, no one had any right to object to it, and we do not find that any one did. It must be admitted that the scheme itself, however unfitted in most respects

respects to all our modern notions, was eminently adapted to create a wide and permanent interest in the advancement of the colony. The proprietorship of a hundred and fifty gentlemen of character and wealth in the soil, to which there was moreover attached a heritable interest and honor, was very certain to secure their personal co-operation in all measures and enterprises, in any way and at any future time, connected with the prosperity and success of the plantation. And it may well be supposed that the desire to secure this important advantage to the colony had much to do in originating and dictating the scheme itself.

But when we consider the large powers granted by the Charter to the Lieutenant and Knights Baronets, we can hardly conceive it possible that a colony should have been successfully planted on a distant continent, and advance in a healthy growth on such a basis, certainly not unless the resources, in the shape of money for the investment, were far greater than at that day were at the command of either private gentlemen or corporate bodies. The power concentrated so largely in the original grantees might, it is true, have become gradually distributed among the colonists, and doubtless it would have been eventually, either from necessity or under the dictates of a broader practical wisdom. But the Charter contains no foreshadowing of any such latent purpose in the grantees. The whole system of civil government, proposed by Sir William Alexander for New Scotland, was in harmony with the sentiments generally prevailing at that period, and in this respect he was not in advance of the age in which he lived.

Lord

Lord Bacon, in his essay on colonies, gives us what was doubtless the soundest opinion of that age. He was himself a grantee, and with others held a patent of Newfoundland, and what he says in the following lines was, we may presume, his best practical view of the subject.

"Let not the government of a plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those rather be noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain."

Again he adds: "For government let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel, and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation."⁹⁷

Had Sir William Alexander proposed a plan of civil government, containing the popular element, with the modifications and limitations of power such as have gradually grown up and are now universally approved, it would at that time have been looked upon as extravagantly utopian, and have been as difficult to reduce to practice as it would be at the present day to introduce the system which he devised for New Scotland into one of our modern free States. While from his education, associations, and temperament even, he had doubtless a strong attachment to the institutions of his country as they then existed, we may infer that he did not desire to put any limit upon human freedom which would be inconsistent with the greatest happiness and the highest degree of prosperity. In his efforts at colonization on Long Island he had no political views

⁹⁷ Bacon's Essays, London, 1625.

views or system of government which he wished to urge, much less to force upon the settlers, but he freely guaranteed to them as much liberty in church and state as was enjoyed in the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The motives which controlled and gave character to the colonial enterprises in which Sir William Alexander engaged were undoubtedly complex, and such as were common to all the adventurers who either preceded or followed him in similar undertakings. The object of investing money was then, and at later periods, and is, we may add, even in this enlightened age, to secure good pecuniary returns. And we presume the investments in colonial enterprises, with him as with others, formed no exception to the general rule. He undoubtedly hoped that his investments would enable his family in after generations to maintain a mode of life suitable to the high rank to which it had by his efforts been elevated.

He was also, we may well believe, influenced more or less by a pure and lofty ambition to connect his own name with the honor and glory of establishing a colony in the New World. "Where," he exclaims, "was ever ambition baited with greater hopes than here, or ever had virtue so large a field to reap the fruits of Glory," where one may leave a fair inheritance to his posterity, who shall look back to him as the author of their nobility?

But we must not fail to include, among other prominent and controlling motives, his desire to promote the growth and extension of the Christian faith. This might be inferred from the simple and devout piety that runs through all his writings

writings; but it is more amply and warmly expressed in his summing up of the advantages offered by American colonization. "The greatest encouragement of all," he says, "for any true christian is this, that here is a large way for advancing the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to whom Churches may be builded in places where his name was never known; and if the Saints in Heaven rejoice at the conversion of a Sinner; what exceeding joy would it be to them to see many thousands of Savage people, who do now live like brute beasts, converted unto God, and I wish (leaving these dreams of Honor and Profit, which do intoxicate the brains, and impoison the mind with transitory pleasures,) that this might be our chief end to begin a new life, serving God more sincerely than before, to whom we may draw more nere, by retiring ourselves further from hence."

The most interesting chapter, in the history of a public man, is usually that which relates to his social and domestic life. But, after the lapse of two hundred years, this chapter cannot be satisfactorily written, unless the necessary material exists in the form of diaries and journals, and more particularly of a private correspondence, where the pulsations of the real life are daguerreotyped and transmitted more distinctly than in any other way. No sources of information of this character relating to Sir William Alexander exist, or, if so, they do not lie within the reach of ordinary investigation. There is, however, some general information relating to his family,⁹⁸ which may shed an imperfect light upon his

⁹⁸ What we here give has been taken from Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, corrected mainly by the insertion of dates, obtained from a Narrative of Law Proceedings published in Edinburgh in 1836, with many incidents and illustrations gathered from other sources.

his home life, and a brief reference to it falls therefore within the scope of our present purpose.

Of his wife, the first Countess of Stirling, we scarcely know more than that she was the mother of at least eleven children, that she was the daughter of Sir William Erskine, Knight, and the great-grand-daughter of the fourth Earl of Mar, one of the most distinguished and influential families of the Scottish nobility, that she survived her husband, and died in 1655. Many circumstances indicate that the family residence was in Scotland, at Menstrie at first, but in Stirling after 1632. Sir William himself was much of his time at court in the discharge of his official duties, while his family, doubtless, divided their time between London and their home in Scotland.

1. William, the eldest son, was a man of rare accomplishments, of whom Robert Baillie says, that "beside the gallantness of his person, he was both wise, learned, and very well spoken." He was a staunch loyalist, but he held his views with such dignity and firm moderation that he was greatly respected even by the enemies of the royal cause. At his death the King professed his loss of a "servant of great hopes." He went to New Scotland, as governor of the colony planted by his father at Port Royal in 1628, where he remained from one to four years.

He had a patent, granted Feb. 4, 1629, for a voyage and the sole trade of "Beaver Wools, Beaver Skins, Furs, Hides, and Skins of Wilde Beasts," in the Gulf and River
of

of Canada and the parts adjacent, with power to establish a plantation and to keep out all intruders.⁹⁹

After his father became Viscount of Stirling in 1630, he received the title of Lord, by courtesy, and was styled, in public documents, Lord William Alexander. He was appointed one of the Extraordinary Lords or Judges of the Court of Session on the 27th of January, 1635, and a Commissioner for Surrenders about the same time. He was also a member of the Great Council for planting New England, from 1634 till his death, and its meetings were not unfrequently held at his house in London. He married Lady Margaret Douglas, the eldest daughter of William, the eleventh Earl of Angus, the first Marquis of Douglas, by whom he had a son, William, who succeeded his grandfather, and was the second Earl of Stirling, but died soon after, while yet a child. He had three daughters: viz., Catharine, married to Walter, Lord Torphichen; Margaret, married to Sir Robert Sinclair; Lucy, married to Edward Harrington, Esq., page of honor to the Prince of Orange in 1630. Lord William Alexander died in London, of a fever of three or four days' standing, in March, or, as a late writer in the first volume of the Collections of the Historical Society of Great Britain has perhaps more correctly given it, on the 18th of May, 1638. His body, having been embalmed, was taken to Scotland and interred "privately in the night" in the family tomb, "Bowie's Iyle," in the Grey Friars' Church, at Stirling. Having predeceased his father, he failed to succeed to his titles and estates. His wife survived him, and died Jan. 1, 1660.

2. Anthony,

⁹⁹ Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, p. 96.

2. Anthony, the second son, who was Sir Anthony, Knight, married a daughter of Sir Henry Wardlaw,¹⁰⁰ of Pitreavie, or Mastertown, in Fifeshire, Bart. He was Master of his Majesty's Works for the kingdom of Scotland. He died in London, without issue, on the 17th of September, 1637. His body was embalmed and transported by sea to Scotland, and by torchlight privately interred in Bowie's Iyle, in the Grey Friars', at Stirling.

Drummond of Hawthornden wrote a Pastoral Elegy¹⁰¹ on his death in 140 verses. Had he not possessed many excellent qualities, this accomplished poet could not have spoken of him as he does in the following lines :—

"Thou waft all virtue, courtesy, and worth,
And as Sun's light is in the Moon set forth,
World's supreme excellence in thee did shine ;
Nor, though eclipsed now, shalt thou decline,
But in our memories live, while dolphins streams
Shall haunt, while eaglets stare on Titan's beams,
Whilst swans upon their crystal tombs shall sing,
Whilst violets with purple paint the spring.
A gentler shepherd flocks did never feed
On Albion's hills, nor sing to oaten reed."

3. Robert, the third son, was matriculated a student of the University of Glasgow in 1634. He predeceased his brother, Lord William Alexander, who, as we have already seen, died in 1638. He is not mentioned by Sir Robert Douglas, in the Peerage of Scotland, nor in any of the printed pedigrees of

¹⁰⁰ Sir Henry Wardlaw, of Pitreavie, founded and endowed in 1676 a Hospital for the maintenance of FOUR WIDOWS, who are entitled to receive 6 bolls of oatmeal (equivalent to 36 bushels) and 40 shillings annually.

¹⁰¹ It was printed under the following title: "To the Exequies of the Honorable Sr. Antonye Alexander, Knight, &c. A Pastoral Elegie. Edin. 1638. 4to."

of the family; but Robert Baillie, who was an intimate acquaintance, and indeed a relative of the family, speaks of his death, and also establishes the fact that he was the third son.¹⁰²

4. Henry, the fourth son, was the third Earl of Stirling. His nephew, the second Earl, having died about three months after the first Earl, he succeeded immediately to the estates of the Earldom, which he found greatly embarrassed. In fact they appear to have been entirely swept off, at least those in Scotland,¹⁰³ leaving scarcely any thing except his American territories, which in those distempered times were wholly unavailable. He established his residence in London, and joined the court as a peer of Scotland. Douglas informs us that he always voted by proxy at the election of Scotch peers. He married Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir Peter Vanlore, of Tylehurst, Co. Berks, Bart., from whom he received a considerable estate. He died Aug. 16, 1644, leaving a son, Henry, who became the fourth Earl of Stirling,¹⁰⁴ and two daughters, Mary and Jane. His widow, the

Countess

¹⁰² Baillie's Letters and Journals, Edinburgh, 1841, Vol. I. p. 76. Notes and Queries (English), 4th Series, Vol. II. p. 35.

¹⁰³ Sir William Alexander obtained charters of the following baronies in Scotland: viz., the barony of Menstrie in 1628; Largis and Tullibody in 1629; Tulliculture in 1634; Gartmore in 1636. — *Penny Cyclopædia*, Vol. XXIII. p. 60.

¹⁰⁴ Henry, the fourth Earl of Stirling, was succeeded by his son, Henry, the fifth Earl, who died on the 4th of Decem-

ber, 1739, and with him the male line became extinct.

In 1757, William Alexander of New York, afterward a General in the Revolutionary war, laid claim to the vacant Earldom. He was descended from John Alexander, an uncle of the first Earl of Stirling: he is usually styled, in American history, General Stirling, or General Lord Stirling.

In 1831, Alexander Humphrys, a descendant, in the female line, of John, the fifth son of the first Earl, claimed the title and estates.

The

Countess of Stirling, married, as her second husband, Colonel John Blount.

5. John, the fifth son, was Master of Minerals in Scotland, in connection with his father. He obtained a charter of the lands of Over-Isgall in 1642. He married Agnes, a daughter of Robert Graham of Gartmore, Esq., by whom he had a son, John, and a daughter, Janet. He died in 1666.

6. Charles, the sixth son, received a charter, under the great seal, of the lands of Tullybody, in 1642. He married Ann Drurie, and had an only son, Charles, who died without issue.

7. Ludovick, the seventh son, died in infancy.

8. James, the eighth son, married Grizel Hay, and had two daughters, Margaret and Jean. The latter was married to the Rev. Henry Scrymgeour.

Jean, the eldest daughter of Sir William Alexander, was married first to Hugh, Lord Viscount Montgomery, of Ireland, and second to Major-General Robert Munroe. Her son, Hugh, by her first husband, was created Earl of Mount Alexander, in 1661. The title was assumed in honor of his mother's surname.

Mary,

The history and nature of the claims severally set up may be learned from the following works: viz., *The Life of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, by William Alexander Duer, LL.D., New Jersey Hist. Soc., 1847; *Notes and Queries* (English), 3d Series, Vol. X. p. 123; *idem*, 4th Series, Vol. IV. pp. 38, 119; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1776, p. 505; *Peerage of Scotland*, by Sir Robert Douglas; *Analecta Scotica*, Edinburgh, 1834, p. 169; *Turnbull's Report on the Stirling Peerage Trial*, Edinburgh, 1839; *Modern State Trials*, by William C. Townsend, 2 vols., Longman & Co., 1850; *Swinton's Report of the Trial of Alexander Humphrys, or Alexander*, Edinburgh, 1839; *Narrative of Oppressive Law Proceedings, &c.*, Edinburgh, 1836; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1851, pp. 461-605; *Vindication of the Rights and Titles of Alexander, Earl of Stirling and Doan*, by John L. Hayes, Washington, 1853; *Sir T. C. Banks's*

Mary, the second daughter, was married to Sir William Murray, of Clermont, Bart., who was created a baronet in 1626.

Elizabeth, the third daughter, died unmarried.

This brief record of the family alliances, the near kinship of his wife to one of the most prominent families in Scotland, his intimate relations from a very early period with the Duke of Argyle, his friendship with the poets, Drayton, Aytoun, Drummond, Ben Jonson,¹⁰⁵ John Murray, Dr. Arthur Johnston, and others, render it easy, with a very slight exercise of the imagination, to form a very distinct picture of Sir William Alexander's social and domestic life.

From the beginning to the end of his career, in public and in private, he was inspired by a wholesome and generous ambition. Enterprising, energetic, and industrious, his whole life was filled with cares and incessant labors.

If any line written by him, either in poetry or prose, contains a questionable morality, or a sentiment of which a great or good man need to be ashamed, it has escaped our notice.

His schemes of colonization were shaped and moulded
by

T. C. Banks's *Baronia Anglica Concentrata*, Ripon, 1843; *Fisheries, Private Property*, by Charles L. Alexander, 1872, 4to, pp. 5.

¹⁰⁵ The relation between Sir William Alexander and Jonson was probably not very intimate, though they were often thrown together in literary circles. In personal character they had scarcely any thing in common. The one was grave, serious, and dignified: the other was gay, convivial, and a thorough man of the world. It was doubtless this

natural incongruity, as much as Sir William's friendship for Drayton, that extorted from Jonson the following, among his celebrated criticisms of the poets, in his conversations with Drummond, viz., that "Sir William Alexander was not half kind to him, and neglected him, because a Friend to Drayton." — *Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, Edinburgh, 1711, folio, p. 225; *idem, Life of Drummond*, p. ix.

land, of the County of Canada and of Long Island, was printed, we think, for the first time, in the Bannatyne Collection in 1867.

The tract entitled an Encouragement to Colonies, reproduced *verbatim et literatim* in these pages, was first published in London in 1624, printed by William Stansby, and dedicated to Prince Charles. Some copies bear the date of 1625.

In 1630, a new title-page was prefixed to the tract, the dedication to the Prince was cancelled, and the same impression was sent forth, and has been generally, but erroneously, referred to as a second edition. The new title-page was as follows :—

THE | MAPP AND | DESCRIPTION OF | NEW-ENGLAND; |
Together with | A Discourfe of Plantation, and | COLONIES:
| ALSO | A relation of the nature of the *Climate* | and how
it agrees with our owne *Country* | ENGLAND. | How neere
it lyes to *New-Found-Land, Virginia, | Noua Francia, Can-*
ada, and other parts of | the WEST-INDIES. | *Written by* |
S^r WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *Knight.* | LONDON, | Printed for
NATHANIEL BUTTER. | *An. Dom.* 1630.

It would be vain to speculate upon the reason of the reissue of this tract, under a new title, six years after its first publication. As the last issue was printed *for* Nathaniel Butter, it is not unlikely to have been a bookseller's speculation, who, by cancelling the dedication to the Prince, who had in the mean time come to the throne, and by an attractive title-page and a fresh date, hoped to call the attention of the public to it as to a new work. This practice

tice was common at that period: sometimes an edition received six and even eight title-pages, before all of it could be fold.

The careful student of this little treatise will, we think, regard the writer, in point of learning, breadth of view, and grandeur of conception touching the future of colonization, as equal, if not surpassing all other writers on this subject at that period.

The engraved Map, of which we give a fac-simile, accompanied the first as well as the second issue.

It presents in outline Newfoundland, the River and Gulf of Canada, New Scotland, and New England as far as Cape Cod. An attentive observer will trace a close resemblance in this map to that of Lefcarbot, published in 1612. Many of its features are so strikingly similar, that their origin hardly admits of a doubt. Alexander's map is, however, in all its outlines far more accurate, and indicates that in the twelve years that had elapsed since the publication of the former, a very great advance had been made in the topographical knowledge of the region here delineated.¹⁰⁶ The map is intended

¹⁰⁶ Capt. John Mason's map of Newfoundland was published in 1626; but as early as 1617 he intimated, in a letter to Sir John Scot, that it was then in preparation: and he added, "I am now setting my foot into that path where I ended last, to discover the westward of this land; and for two months absence, I have fitted myself with a small new galley of 15 tonnes, and to rowe with fourteen oares (having lost our former). We shall visite the naturalls [natives] of the country, with whom I purpose to trade, and thereafter shall give you a

taft of the event, hoping that withall *Terra nova* will produce *Dona nova*, to manifest our gratification. Untill which tyme, I rest and shall remayne *tuus dum fuus*, JOHN MASON." — *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 5.

We know not how far this survey of Capt. Mason extended; but it is not unlikely that, during the seven years which he passed at Newfoundland, he obtained much valuable topographical information relating to New Scotland and New England, of which Sir William Alexander

intended only as an outline, the names are all in English, and those which had been laid down by Lescarbot in French are here of course entirely omitted. The south-western portion of Newfoundland is entitled Alexandria, and marks a grant which had been made to Sir William in that province.¹⁰⁷ New Scotland is divided into two provinces, the more southern denominated CALEDONIA, the northern ALEXANDRIA. The western extremity of the map represents that part of the coast of New England which lies between the river St. Croix and Cape Cod, including a considerable territory lying due west of the latter point.

On the maps of North America, anterior to this period, New England, having been imperfectly explored, appears to have been particularly neglected, while the northern and southern extremities of the continent are more fully delineated. On some of them New England is omitted altogether, and on others it is represented in the most rudimentary way.

Captain John Smith's exploration of the coast, in 1614, enabled him to construct a map, which, though by no means accurate, was greatly in advance of any that had preceded it.¹⁰⁸ This was published in 1616, and although Sir William Alexander

Alexander availed himself in the construction of his map.

Charles W. Tuttle, Esq., of Boston, has in preparation a monograph relating to Capt. John Mason, which will comprise a Memoir, Mason's Tract on Newfoundland, 1620, and the several American Charters in which he was a grantee. It cannot fail to be a valuable contribution to our Colonial history.

¹⁰⁷ See *Encouragement to Colonies*, London, 1624, pp. 25, 26.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, deprecating a want of knowledge of the coasts of New England, and the imperfectness of the maps that had been attempted, says, "I haue had six or seuen feuerall plots of those Northerne parts, so vnlike each to other, or resemblance of the Country, as they did me no more good then so much waste paper." — *Smith's Generall Historie*, London, 1632, p. 207.

Alexander was undoubtedly familiar with it, and probably obtained important hints from it, there is not such a marked similarity in the two maps as we should naturally have anticipated, or that renders it obvious that the one was, in any proper sense, taken from the other.

On that part of Alexander's map which represents New England are the names of twenty distinguished persons who appear at one time to have composed the Council for Planting, Ruling, and Governing New England. A scheme had been put on foot by the Council to divide the territory among themselves, and they even advanced so far as to lay down the several divisions on one of Smith's maps,¹⁰⁹ and to assign them by lot, but the contemplated partition does not appear ever to have been consummated.

The exact time when the lots were cast and the divisions delineated does not appear. As Sir William Belafis's name is on the map, and as he was admitted to the Council on the 17th of June, 1623,¹¹⁰ the allotment must have taken place some time after that date, and before the publication of the map in 1624. The names of the patentees, but not the delineated divisions, are transferred to Alexander's map, and thus have an historical significance by pointing back to an inchoate scheme, which, had it been carried out, might have given to New England a landed aristocracy not unlike that still existing in the mother country.

Sir

¹⁰⁹ Capt. John Smith's General History, Richmond, 1819, Vol. II. p. 263; also, Alexander's Encouragement to Colonies, in this vol. p. 31, according to pagination of ed. 1624. For a proposed division of the same territory at a later period, see Gorges's Briefe Narration, London, 1658, pp. 42-44; Hazard, Vol. I. p. 388; *idem*, pp. 390-392; Records of the Great Council for New England, Am. Antiquarian Soc., 1867.

¹¹⁰ Records of the Council for New England, edited by Charles Deane, LL.D., in Proceedings Am. Ant. Soc., 1867, p. 95.

Sir William Alexander's map has appeared several times in connection with other works.

The next year after its publication in his *Encouragement to Colonies*, it was introduced by Purchas into the fourth volume of his *Pilgrimes*, published in London in 1625.

That part of it which relates to New England was engraved to illustrate the "Landing at Cape Anne," a work by John Wingate Thornton, Esq., published in Boston in 1854.

The whole map was introduced, by Mr. Samuel G. Drake, into the "Founders of New England," published by him in Boston in 1860.

It also appears again in a work entitled "Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts," edited by David Laing, LL.D., and published under the auspices of the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1867.

ENGRAVED PORTRAIT.—William Marshall executed a portrait of Sir William Alexander, which was prefixed to his *Recreation with the Muses*, published in 1637. *Antea*, p. 6. It was undoubtedly engraved after one of Marshall's own designs, and is said to be among his best performances. It is now exceedingly rare, and is to be found in but few of the copies of that edition.

"It represents his lordship in a close-bodied coat; a full ruff about his neck, and the badge of his new-created order hanging at his breast. Liveliness and gravity are well tempered in his countenance; his hair is short, and well curled; and his beard tapering gradually to a point, according to the fashion of the times. The oval frame is encompassed with

with two olive branches; and the inscription in it is: VERA EFFIGIES GULIELMI COMITIS DE STERLIN. ÆTATIS SUÆ LVII." — *Oldys*.

This was undoubtedly the only original likenefs left by Sir William, and all later engravings appear to be copies from this, of which there are several. Granger informs us that a print, after the manner of Marshall, with the motto *Aut spero aut sperno*, is prefixed to the edition of the Tragedies, 8vo, 1616.

Engravings have been executed, by C. Hall, published in 1781; by Bocquet, in 1806; and by C. Pye, in 1820. In these the accessories, the oval frame, inscription, and olive branches, are laid aside.

In 1795, William Richardson, of London, published an engraved portrait to illustrate Granger's Biographical History of England. This was evidently a fac-simile of Marshall's celebrated work accompanying the Recreation with the Muses, to which we have referred. From this plate engravings were furnished for the volume of Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, issued by the Bannatyne Club in 1867. The plate is now in the possession of Henry George Bohn, Esq., of London, who has obligingly consented to furnish impressions from it for this work.

"ANACRISIS; or, A Censure of some Poets Ancient and Modern." This work requires a brief notice.

In the later years of Sir William Alexander's life, he retired for a short time to Menstrie, the place of his birth, for repose and recreation, after the fatigues and cares of many years devoted to public duties. This period of leisure he gave to a reperusal of the poets, a study which appears to have afforded him great pleasure, and to have kindled
anew

anew his early tastes. As a result of these studies, he has left us a critique, in which he offers remarks, more or less extended, upon Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Papinianus, Lucan, Martial, Scaliger, and Tasso. He also speaks, by way of illustration, of Curtius, and of Xenophon, and of Sir Philip Sidney, and of other writers in English, Italian, Spanish, and French. This little essay, although but a rough draught, cannot but challenge our respect for the critical talent of the author, his high culture and extensive learning. It was enclosed to the poet Drummond of Hawthornden, with an interesting note, which, with the Anacrisis, (*Ἀνάκρσις*, *examination*, or *critique*,) is inserted in the works of that poet.¹¹¹ We give the note entire, as follows: —

To my much honoured Friend,

Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden.

Sir,

I would have this Piece appear to the World with your Name, as well for a Testimony to Aftertimes of our Friendship and Love, as for that (to my knowledge) there is not any in our Northern Country who hath more diligently perused the Authors cited in this Censure, and who can so universally discern of every of them in their own Language, as your self. My daily Cares at Court, and Employments in Matters of the State, have not granted me Leisure to set the last Hand unto it: Neither have I went so through all, but that you (if you please) in that Solitariness and Leisure which you enjoy, may proceed and spend some flying Hours upon this same Subject. And, I am assured, our Pieces cannot but with Applause and Contentment be read and embraced by the thankful Posterity; who after Death will render to every Man what is his due.

Your loving Friend and Brother,

STIRLING.

¹¹¹ Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, Edinburgh, 1711, folio, p. 158.



CHARTER
IN FAVOR OF
SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, KNIGHT,
OF THE LORDSHIP AND BARONY OF NEW SCOTLAND IN AMERICA,
10 SEPTEMBER, 1621.

Translated by the REV. CARLOS SLAFTER, A.M., of Dedham.

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith, to all good men clerical and lay, of his entire realm, greeting.

Know ye, that we have always been eager to embrace every opportunity to promote the honor and wealth of our Kingdom of Scotland, and think that no gain is easier or more safe than what is made by planting new colonies in foreign and uncultivated regions, where the means of living and food abound: especially, if these places were before without inhabitants, or were settled by infidels whose conversion

NOTE. — This translation is made from the Latin as found in the "Great Seal Register," and printed in the collection of Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, by the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1867.

conversion to the Christian faith most highly concerns the glory of God.

But whilst many other Kingdoms, and, not very long ago, our own England, to their praise, have given their names to new lands, which they have acquired and subdued; We, thinking how populous and crowded this land now is by Divine favor, and how expedient it is that it should be carefully exercised in some honorable and useful discipline, lest it deteriorate through sloth and inaction, have judged it important that many should be led forth into new territory, which they may fill with colonies; and so we think this undertaking most fit for this Kingdom, both on account of the promptness and activity of its spirit, and the strength and endurance of its men against any difficulties, if any other men anywhere dare to set themselves in opposition; and as it demands the transportation only of men and women, stock and grain, and not of money, and can not repay, at this time, when business is so depressed, a troublesome expenditure of the treasures of this realm; for these reasons, as well as on account of the good, faithful, and acceptable service of our beloved counsellor, Sir William Alexander, Knight, to us rendered, and to be rendered, who first of our subjects at his own expense attempted to plant this foreign colony, and selected for plantation the divers lands bounded by the limits hereafter designated:

We, therefore, from our Sovereign anxiety to propagate the Christian faith, and to secure the wealth, prosperity, and peace of the native subjects of our said Kingdom of Scotland, as other foreign princes in such cases already have
done,

done, with the advice and consent of our well-beloved cousin and counsellor, John, Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine and Gareoch, &c., our High Treasurer, Comptroller, Collector, and Treasurer of our new revenues of this our Kingdom of Scotland, and of the other Lords Commissioners of our same Kingdom, have given, granted, and conveyed, and, by the tenor of our present charter, do give, grant, and convey to the aforefaid Sir William Alexander, his heirs or assigns, hereditarily, all and single, the lands of the continent, and islands situated and lying in America, within the head or promontory commonly called Cape of Sable, lying near the forty-third degree of north latitude, or thereabouts: from this Cape stretching along the shores of the sea, westward to the roadstead of St. Mary, commonly called Saint Mary's Bay, and thence northward by a straight line, crossing the entrance, or mouth, of that great roadstead which runs toward the eastern part of the land between the countries of the Suriqui and Etechemini, commonly called Suriquois and Etechemines, to the river generally known by the name of St. Croix, and to the remotest springs, or source, from the western side of the same, which empty into the first mentioned river; thence by an imaginary straight line which is conceived to extend through the land, or run northward to the nearest bay, river, or stream emptying into the great river of Canada: and going from that eastward along the low shores of the same river of Canada, to the river, harbor, port or shore commonly known and called by the name of Gathepe or Gaspie, and thence south-southeast to the isles called Bacalaos, or Cape Breton, leaving the said
isles

isles on the right, and the mouth of the said great river of Canada, or large bay, and the territory of Newfoundland with the islands belonging to the same lands, on the left: thence to the headland or point of Cape Breton aforesaid, lying near latitude 45° , or thereabouts; and from the said point of Cape Breton toward the south and west to the above-mentioned Cape Sable, where the boundary began; including and containing within the said coasts and their circumference, from sea to sea, all lands of the continent with the rivers, falls, bays, shores, islands, or seas, lying near or within six leagues on any side of the same, on the west, north, or east sides of the same coasts and bounds: and on the south-southeast (where Cape Breton lies) and on the south side of the same (where Cape Sable is) all seas and islands southward within forty leagues of said sea-shore, thereby including the large island commonly called Isle de Sable, or Sablon, lying towards Carban, in common speech, south-southeast, about thirty leagues from the said Cape Breton seaward, and being in latitude 44° , or thereabouts.

The above-described lands shall in all future time bear the name of NEW SCOTLAND in America, and also the aforesaid Sir William shall divide it into parts and portions as seemeth best to him, and shall give names to the same at his pleasure:

With all mines, both the royal ones of gold and silver, and others of iron, lead, copper, tin, brasse, and other minerals, with the power of mining, and causing to dig them from the earth, and of purifying and refining the same, and converting to his own use, or that of others as shall seem
best

best to the said Sir William, his heirs or assigns, or to whomsoever it shall have pleased him to establish in said lands, reserving only to us and our successors, a tenth part of the metal vulgarly known as ore of gold and silver which shall be hereafter dug or obtained from the land: leaving the said Sir William and his aforesaid whatever of other metals of copper, steel, iron, tin, lead, or other minerals, we or our successors may be able in any way to obtain from the earth, in order that thereby they may the more easily bear the large expense of reducing the aforesaid metals: together with margarite termed pearl, and any other precious stones, quarries, forests, thickets, mosses, marshes, lakes, waters, fisheries in both salt and fresh water, and of both royal and other fish, hunting, hawking, and any thing that may be sold or inherited; with full power, privilege, and jurisdiction of free royalty, chapelry, and chancery for ever: with the gift and right of patronage of churches, chapels, and benefices: with tenants, tenancies, and the services of those holding the same freely: together with the offices of justiciary and admiralty within all the bounds respectively mentioned above: also with power of setting up states, free towns, free ports, villages, and barony towns: and of establishing markets and fairs within the bounds of said lands: of holding courts of justice and admiralty within the limits of such lands, rivers, ports, and seas: also with the power of improving, levying, and receiving all tolls, customs, anchor-dues, and other revenues of the said towns, marts, fairs, and free ports; and of owning and using the same as freely in all respects as any greater or lesser Baron in our Kingdom
of

of Scotland has enjoyed in any past, or could enjoy in any future time : with all other prerogatives, privileges, immunities, dignities, perquisites, profits, and dues concerning and belonging to said lands, seas, and the boundaries thereof, which we ourselves can give and grant, as freely and in as ample form as we or any of our noble ancestors granted any charters, letters patent, enfeoffments, gifts, or commissions to any subjects of whatever rank or character, or to any society or company leading out such colonies into any foreign parts, or searching out foreign lands, and in as free and ample form as if the same were included in this present charter : also, we make, constitute, and ordain the said Sir William Alexander, his heirs and assigns, or their deputies, our Hereditary Lieutenants-General, for representing our royal person, both by sea and by land, in the regions of the sea, and on the coasts, and in the bounds aforesaid, both in seeking said lands and remaining there and returning from the same ; to govern, rule, punish, and acquit all our subjects who may chance to visit or inhabit the same, or who shall do business with the same, or shall tarry in the said places ; also, to pardon the same ; and to establish such laws, statutes, constitutions, orders, instructions, forms of governing, and ceremonies of magistrates in said bounds, as shall seem fit to Sir William Alexander himself, or his aforesaid, for the government of the said region, or of the inhabitants of the same, in all causes, both criminal and civil ; also, of changing and altering the said laws, rules, forms, and ceremonies, as often as he or his aforesaid shall please for the good and convenience of said region : so that said laws may
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be as consistent as possible with those of our realm of Scotland. We also will that, in case of rebellion or sedition, he may use martial law against delinquents, or such as withdraw themselves from his power, as freely as any lieutenant whatever of our realm or dominion, by virtue of the office of lieutenant, has, or can have, the power to use, by excluding all other officers of this our Scottish realm, on land or sea, who hereafter can pretend to any claim, property, authority, or interest in and to said lands or province aforesaid, or any jurisdiction therein by virtue of any prior disposal or patents; and, that a motive may be offered to noblemen for joining this expedition and planting a colony in said lands, we, for ourselves and our heirs and successors, with the advice and consent aforesaid, by virtue of our present charter, do give and grant free and full power to the aforesaid Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid, to confer favors, privileges, gifts, and honors on those who deserve them, with full power to the same, or any one of them, who may have made bargains or contracts with Sir William, or his deputies, for the said lands, under his signature, or that of his deputies, and under the seal hereinafter described, to dispose of and convey any part or parcel of said lands, ports, harbors, rivers, or of any part of the premises; also, of erecting machines of all forts, introducing arts or sciences, or practicing the same, in whole or in part, as he shall judge to be for their advantage; also, to give, grant, and bestow such offices, titles, rights, and powers, make and appoint such captains, officers, bailiffs, governors, clerks, and all other officers, clerks, and ministers of royalty, barony, and town, for the execution of justice within the
bounds

bounds of said lands, or on the way to these lands by sea, and returning from the same, as shall seem necessary to him, according to the qualities, conditions, and deserts of the persons who may happen to dwell in any of the colonies of said province, or in any part of the same, or who may risk their goods and fortunes for the advantage and increase of the same; also, of removing the same persons from office, transferring or changing them, as far as it shall seem expedient to him and his aforesaid.

And, since attempts of this kind are not made without great labor and expense, and demand a large outlay of money, so that they exceed the means of any private man, and on this account the said Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid may need supplies of many kinds, with many of our subjects and other men for special enterprises and ventures therein, who may form contracts with him, his heirs, assigns, or deputies for lands, fisheries, trade, or the transportation of people and their flocks, goods, and effects to the said New Scotland, we will that whoever shall make such contracts with the said Sir William and his aforesaid under their names and seals, by limiting, assigning, and fixing the day and place for the delivery of persons, goods, and effects on shipboard, under forfeiture of a certain sum of money, and shall not perform the same contracts, but shall thwart and injure him in the proposed voyage, which thing will not only oppose and harm the said Sir William and his aforesaid, but also prejudice and damage our so laudable intention: then it shall be lawful to the said Sir William and his aforesaid, or their deputies and conservators hereinafter mentioned,

mentioned, in such case to seize for himself, or his deputies whom he may appoint for this purpose, all such sums of money, goods, and effects forfeited by the violation of these contracts. And that this may be more easily done, and the delay of the law be avoided, we have given and granted, and by the tenor of these presents do give and grant, full power to the Lords of our Council, that they may reduce to order and punish the violators of such contracts and agreements made for the transportation of persons. And although all such contracts between the said Sir William and his aforefaids and the aforeaid adventurers shall be carried out in the risk and the conveyance of people with their goods and effects, at the set time; and they with all their cattle and goods arrive at the shore of that province with the intention of colonizing and abiding there; and yet, afterwards, shall leave the province of New Scotland altogether, and the confines of the same, without the consent of the said Sir William and his aforefaids or their deputies, or the society and colony aforeaid, where first they had been collected and joined together; and shall go away to the uncivilized natives, to live in remote and desert places: then they shall lose and forfeit all the lands previously granted them; also all their goods within the aforeaid bounds; and it shall be lawful for the said Sir William and his aforefaids to confiscate the same, and reclaim the same lands, and to seize and convert and apply to his own use and that of his aforefaids all the same belonging to them, or any one of them.

And that all our beloved subjects, as well of our kingdoms
and

and dominions, so also others of foreign birth who may fail to the said lands, or any part of the same, for obtaining merchandise, may the better know and obey the power and authority given by us to the aforesaid Sir William Alexander, our faithful counsellor, and his deputies, in all such commissions, warrants, and contracts as he shall at any time make, grant, and establish for the more fit and safe arrangement of offices, to govern said colony, grant lands, and execute justice in respect to the said inhabitants, adventurers, deputies, factors, or assigns, in any part of said lands, or in failing to the same, we, with the advice and consent aforesaid, do order that the said Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid shall have one common seal, pertaining to the office of Lieutenant of Justiciary and Admiralty, which by the said Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid or their deputies, in all time to come, shall be safely kept: on one side of it our arms shall be engraved, with these words on the circle and margin thereof: "Sigillum Regis Scotiæ Angliæ Franciæ et Hybernæ;" and on the other side our image, or that of our successors, with these words: "Pro Novæ Scotiæ Locum Tenente:" and a true copy of it shall be kept in the hands and care of the conservator of the privileges of New Scotland, and this he may use in his office as occasion shall require. And as it is very important that all our beloved subjects who inhabit the said province of New Scotland or its borders may live in the fear of Almighty God, and at the same time in his true worship, and may have an earnest purpose to establish the Christian religion therein, and also to cultivate peace and quiet with
the

the native inhabitants and savage aborigines of these lands, so that they, and any others trading there, may safely, pleasantly, and quietly hold what they have got with great labor and peril, we, for ourselves and our successors, do will and decree, and by our present charter give and grant to the said Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid and their deputies, or any other of our government officers and ministers whom they shall appoint, free and absolute power of arranging and securing peace, alliance, friendship, mutual conferences, assistance, and intercourse with those savage aborigines and their chiefs, and any others bearing rule and power among them; and of preserving and fostering such relations and treaties as they or their aforesaid shall form with them; provided those treaties are, on the other side, kept faithfully by these barbarians; and, unless this be done, of taking up arms against them, whereby they may be reduced to order, as shall seem fitting to the said Sir William and his aforesaid and deputies, for the honor, obedience, and service of God, and the stability, defence, and preservation of our authority among them; with power also to the said Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid, by themselves, or their deputies, substitutes, or assigns, for their defence and protection at all times and on all just occasions hereafter, of attacking suddenly, invading, expelling, and by arms driving away, as well by sea as by land, and by all means, all and singly, those who, without the special license of the said Sir William and his aforesaid, shall attempt to occupy these lands, or trade in the said province of New Scotland, or in any part of the same; and in like manner
all

all other persons who presume to bring any damage, loss, destruction, injury, or invasion against that province, or the inhabitants of the same: And that this may be more easily done, it shall be allowed to the said Sir William and his aforesaid, their deputies, factors, and assigns, to levy contributions on the adventurers and inhabitants of the same; to bring them together by proclamations, or by any other order, at such times as shall seem best to the said Sir William and his aforesaid; to assemble all our subjects living within the limits of the said New Scotland and trading there, for the better supplying of the army with necessaries, and the enlargement and increase of the people and planting of said lands: With full power, privilege, and liberty to the said Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid, by themselves or their agents, of sailing over any seas whatever under our ensigns and banners, with as many ships, of as great burden, and as well furnished with ammunition, men, and provisions as they are able to procure at any time, and as often as shall seem expedient; and of carrying all persons of every quality and grade who are our subjects, or who wish to submit themselves to our sway, for entering upon such a voyage with their cattle, horses, oxen, sheep, goods of all kinds, furniture, machines, heavy arms, military instruments as many as they desire, and other commodities and necessaries for the use of the same colony, for mutual commerce with the natives of these provinces, or others who may trade with these plantations; and of transporting all commodities and merchandise, which shall seem to them needful, into our kingdom of Scotland without the payment
of

of any tax, custom, and impost, for the same to us, or our custom-house officers, or their deputies; and of carrying away the same from their offices on this side, during the space of seven years following the day of the date of our present charter; and to have this sole privilege for the space of three years next hereafter we freely have granted, and by the tenor of our present charter grant and give to the said Sir William and his aforefaids, according to the terms hereinafter mentioned.

And after these three years are ended, it shall be lawful, to us and our successors, to levy and exact from all goods and merchandise which shall be exported from this our kingdom of Scotland to the said province of New Scotland, or imported from this province to our said kingdom of Scotland, in any ports of this our kingdom, by the said Sir William and his aforefaids, five per cent. only, according to the old mode of reckoning, without any other impost, tax, custom, or duty from them hereafter; which sum of five pounds per hundred being thus paid, by the said Sir William and his aforefaids, to our officers and others appointed for this business, the said Sir William and his aforefaids may carry away the said goods from this our realm of Scotland into any other foreign ports and climes, without the payment of any other custom, tax, or duty to us or our heirs or successors or any other persons; provided also that said goods, within the space of thirteen months after their arrival in any part of this our kingdom, may be again placed on board a ship. We also give and grant absolute and full power to the said Sir William and
his

his aforesaid, of taking, levying, and receiving to his own proper use and that of his aforesaid, from all our subjects who shall desire to conduct colonies, follow trade, or sail to the said lands of New Scotland, and from the same, for goods and merchandise, five per cent besides the sum due to us; whether on account of the exportation from this our kingdom of Scotland to the said province of New Scotland, or of the importation from the said province to this our kingdom of Scotland aforesaid; and, in like manner, from all goods and merchandise which shall be exported by our subjects, leaders of colonies, merchants, and navigators from the said province of New Scotland, to any of our dominions or any other places; or shall be imported from our realms and elsewhere to the said New Scotland, five per cent beyond and above the sum before appointed to us; and from the goods and merchandise of all foreigners and others not under our sway which shall be either exported from the said province of New Scotland, or shall be imported into the same, beyond and above the said sum assigned to us, ten per cent may be levied, taken, and received, for the proper use of the said Sir William and his aforesaid, by such servants, officers, or deputies, or their agents, as they shall appoint and authorize for this business. And for the better security and profit of the said Sir William and his aforesaid, and of all our other subjects desiring to settle in New Scotland aforesaid, or to trade there, and of all others in general who shall not refuse to submit themselves to our authority and power, we have decreed and willed that the said Sir William may construct, or cause to be

be built, one or more forts, fortresses, castles, strongholds, watch-towers, block-houses, and other buildings, with ports and naval stations, and also ships of war; and the same shall be applied for defending the said places, as shall, to the said Sir William and his aforesaid, seem necessary to accomplish the aforesaid undertaking: and they may establish, for their defence there, garrisons of soldiers, in addition to the things above mentioned; and, generally, may do all things for the acquisition, increase, and introduction of people, and to preserve and govern the said New Scotland and the coasts and land thereof, in all its limits, features, and relations, under our name and authority, as we might do if present in person; although the case may require a more particular and strict order than is prescribed in this our present charter; and to this command we wish, direct, and most strictly enjoin all our justices, officers, and subjects frequenting these places to conform themselves; and to yield to, and obey, the said Sir William and his aforesaid in all and each of the above-mentioned matters, both principal and related; and be equally obedient to them in their execution as they ought to be to us whose person he represents, under the pains of disobedience and rebellion. Moreover, we declare, by the tenor of our present charter to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if, hereafter, any one, or any, from the said colonies, in the province of New Scotland aforesaid, or any other persons under their license and command, exercising piracy, at any future time, by land or by sea, shall carry away the goods of any person, or in a hostile manner do any injustice or wrong to any of
our

our subjects, or those of our heirs or successors, or of other kings, princes, governors, or states in alliance with us, then, upon such injury offered, or just complaint thereupon, by any king, prince, governor, state, or their subjects, we, our heirs and successors, will see that public proclamations are made, in any part of our said kingdom of Scotland, just and suitable for this purpose, that the said pirate or pirates, who shall commit such violence, at a stated time, to be determined by the aforeaid proclamation, shall fully restore all goods so carried away; and for the said injuries shall make full satisfaction, so that the said princes and others thus complaining shall deem themselves satisfied. And, if the authors of such crimes shall neither make worthy satisfaction, nor be careful that it be made within the limited time, then he, or those who have committed such plunder, neither are nor hereafter shall be under our government and protection; but it shall be permitted and lawful to all princes, and others whatsoever, to proceed against such offenders, or any of them, and with all hostility to invade them.

And though it is appointed that no nobleman and gentleman may depart from this country without our consent, yet we will that this our present charter be a sufficient permission and assurance to all engaging in the said voyage, save those who may be accused of treason, or retained by any special order: and, according to our present charter, we declare and decree that no person may leave this country and go to the said region of New Scotland unless they have previously taken the oath of allegiance to us; for which purpose, we, by our present charter, give and grant the said

Sir

Sir William and his aforefaids, or their conservators and deputies, full power and authority to exact the said oath from and administer it to all persons proceeding into the said lands in that colony. Moreover, we for ourselves and our successors, with the advice and consent aforefaid, declare, decree, and ordain that all our subjects, going to the said New Scotland, or living in it, and all their children and posterity born there, and all adventuring there, shall have and enjoy all the liberties, rights, and privileges of free and native subjects of our kingdom of Scotland, or of our other dominions, as if they had been born there.

Also, we, for ourselves and our successors, give and grant to the said Sir William and his aforefaids the free power of regulating and coining money for the freer commerce of those inhabiting the said province, of any metal, in what manner and of what form they shall choose and direct for the same.

And if any questions or doubts shall arise on the meaning and construction of any clause in our present charter, all these shall be taken and explained in their amplest form, and in favor of the said Sir William and his aforefaids. Besides, we, of our certain knowledge, proper motive, regal authority, and kingly power, have made, united, annexed, erected, created, and incorporated, and, by the tenor of our present charter, do make, unite, annex, erect, create, and incorporate, the whole and undivided, the said province and lands of New Scotland, with all the seas and limits of the same, and minerals of gold and silver, lead, copper, steel, tin, brass, iron, and any other mines, pearls, precious stones, quarries, forests,

forests, thickets, mosses, marshes, lakes, waters, fisheries, as well in fresh waters as in salt, as well of royal fishes as of others, cities, free ports, free villages, towns, baronial villages, seaports, roadsteads, machines, mills, offices, and jurisdictions, and all other things generally and particularly mentioned above, in one entire and free lordship and barony which shall be called in all future time by the aforesaid name of New Scotland.

And we will and grant, and for ourselves and our successors decree and order, that one feisin now made by the said Sir William and his aforesaid, upon any part of the soil of the said lands and upon the province before described, shall in all future time be effective; and shall be a sufficient feisin for the whole region, with all the parts, appendages, privileges, accidents, liberties, and immunities of the same mentioned above, without any other special and definite feisin to be taken by himself or his aforesaid on any other part or place of the same: And concerning this feisin and all things which have followed it, or can follow it, we, with the advice and consent above mentioned, for ourselves and successors, have dispensed, and by the tenor of our present charter, in the manner hereafter mentioned, do dispense for ever: *To hold and to possess*, the whole and undivided, the said region and lordship of New Scotland, with all the bounds of the same within the seas above mentioned, all minerals of gold and silver, copper, steel, tin, lead, brass, and iron, and any other mines, pearls, precious stones, quarries, woods, thickets, mosses, marshes, lakes, waters, fisheries, as well in fresh water as salt, as well of royal fishes as of others,

others, states, free towns, free ports, towns, baronial villages, seaports, roadsteads, machines, mills, offices, and jurisdictions, and all other things generally and specially mentioned above; with all other privileges, liberties, immunities, and accidents, and other things above mentioned, to the aforesaid Sir William Alexander, his heirs and assigns, from us and our successors, in free covenant, inheritance, lordship, barony, and royalty, for ever, through all their just bounds and limits, as they lie in length and breadth, in houses, buildings erected and to be erected, bogs, plains, and moors; marshes, roads, paths, waters, swamps, rivers, meadows, and pastures; mines, malt-houses and their refuse, hawkings, huntings, fisheries, peat-mosses, turf-bogs, coal, coal-pits, coneys, warrens, doves, dove-cotes, workshops, maltkilns, breweries and broom; woods, groves, and thickets; wood, timber, quarries of stone and lime; with courts, fines, pleas, heriots, outlaws, rabbles of women, with free entrance and exit, and with fork, fofs, fok, fac, theme, infangtheiff, outfangtheiff, wrak, wair, veth, vert, vennesonn, pit, and gallows; and with all other and singly, the liberties, commodities, profits, easements, and their rightful pertinents of all kinds, whether mentioned or not, above or below ground, far and near, belonging, or that can belong, to the aforesaid region and lordship, in any manner, for the future, freely, quietly, fully, wholly, honorably, well, and in peace, without any revocation, contradiction, impediment, or obstacle whatever.

Annually, at the festival of Christ's Nativity, on the soil of the said lands and of the province of New Scotland, the said Sir William Alexander and his aforesaid shall pay to

us

us and our heirs and successors, under the name of quit-rent, one penny of Scottish money, if so much be demanded.

And because the tenure of the said lands, and of the province of New Scotland, and the quit-rent above mentioned, may fail through want of the timely and lawful entry of any heir or heirs of the said Sir William succeeding him, a thing which they may not easily accomplish on account of the great distance from our kingdom; and these same lands and province, on account of non-entrance, may come into our hands and those of our successors until the lawful entrance of the legitimate heir: and we being unwilling that the said lands and region at any time should fall into non-entry, or that the said Sir William and his aforesaid should be thus deprived of the benefits and profits of the same, therefore we, with the advice aforesaid, have dispensed with the said non-entry whenever it shall occur, and, by the tenor of this our charter, we, for ourselves and our successors, do dispense; and also we have renounced and exonerated, and by the tenor of our present charter, with the consent aforesaid, we do renounce and exonerate the said Sir William and his aforesaid in respect to the above-mentioned non-entrance of the said province and region whenever it shall come into our hands, or, by reason of non-entry, may fall, with all things that can follow therefrom; provided, however, that the said Sir William, his heirs and assigns, within the space of seven years after the decease and death of their predecessors, or entry to the possession of said lands, and of other things aforesaid, by themselves or their lawful agents holding power for this purpose, do homage to us and our successors, and come to,
and

and receive through us, the said lands, lordship, barony, and other things aforesaid, according to the laws and statutes of our said kingdom of Scotland. Finally, we, for ourselves and our successors, do will, decree, and ordain that this our present charter and enfeoffment above written of the lands aforesaid, lordship, and region of New Scotland, and the privileges and liberties of the same, shall be ratified, approved, and established in our next Parliament of our said kingdom of Scotland whenever it shall meet, so that it shall have therein the force and efficacy of a decree; and for this we, for ourselves and our successors, declare that this our charter shall be a sufficient warrant: and, as a prince, we promise that the same shall be ratified and approved, and also we promise to alter, renew, increase, and extend the same into the most ample form, as often as it shall seem necessary and expedient to the said Sir William and his aforesaid.

Moreover it has seemed best to us, and we order and enjoin our beloved . . . our sheriffs especially appointed on our part, on seeing this our charter under our great seal, so to give and grant to the aforesaid Sir William and his aforesaid, or their attorney or attorneys, possession and seisin, actual and real, of the lands, lordship, barony, and other things mentioned above, with all privileges, immunities, liberties, and other things above expressed: and this seisin we, by the tenor of our present charter, declare to be as lawful and regular as if he had a precept, under proof of our Great Seal, and in the most ample form, with all clauses requisite for the aforesaid purpose; with which we, for ourselves and successors, do for ever dispense. In witness whereof we have commanded our Great Seal to be affixed to

to this our present charter. Witneffes: Our well-beloved coufins and counsellors, James, Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord Aven and Innerdaill; George, Earl Marifchal, Lord Keith, &c., Marfhal of our kingdom; Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Fyvie and Urquhart, &c., our Chancellor; Thomas, Earl of Melros, Lord Binning and Byres, our Secretary; — Our beloved familiar counsellors, Baronets; Sir Richard Cockburn, junior, of Clerkington, Keeper of our Privy Seal; Sir George Hay, of Kinfawins, our Register of the Rolls and Clerk of the Council; Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, Clerk of our Juf-ticiary; and Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, Director of our Chancery, Knights.

At our Caſtle of Windſor, the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1621, and of our Reigns the fifty-fifth and nineteenth years, reſpectively.

By ſignature ſuperſcribed by the hand of our Sovereign Lord, the King: and ſubſcribed by the hands of our Chan-celler, Treafurer, Principal Secretary, and of the other Lords, our Commiſſioners, and of our Privy Council of the ſaid kingdom of Scotland.

Written to the Great Seal,
29. September, 1621.

J. SCOTT,
gratis.

Sealed at Edinburgh,
29. September, 1621.

J.A. RAITHE,
gr.

N.B. — “In the Regiſt. Mag. Sigilli the names of the witneſſes are not given, but only a reference, as ſpecified in an earlier Charter in the Record. The indorſement of the charter, ‘Writ-ten,’ &c., of courſe is not found in the Register itſelf.” — *Note by David Laing, LL.D., in Bannatyne Collec-tion of Royal Letters, Charters, and Traſts.*

AN
Encouragement
TO
COLONIES:

By
Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER,
KNIGHT.

*Alter erit tum Tiphis, & altera quæ vehat Argo
delectos Heroas —*

THOV SHALT LABOR FOR PEACE AND PLENTIE.

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby*
1624.

a lawfull increase of necessary commerce, to procure glorie unto God, honour to yourselfe, and benefit to the World; By this meanes, you that are borne to rule Nations, may bee the beginner of Nations, enlarging this Monarchie without bloud, and making a Conquest without wronging of others, whereof in regard of your youth any good beginning in this (like your Vertue vpon which it doth depend) boding a speedie Progresse Time in your own time, doth promise a great perfection. The glory of greatnes (that it may have a harmonie with goodnesse) consisting more in rayfing then in ruining of others, it is a farre better course to purchase fame by the Plantation of a new World, nor as many Princes haue done by the desolation of this. And since your Royall Father during whose happie raigne, these seeds of Scepters haue beene first from hence sowne in America, by his gracious fauour farre aboue any merit of mine, hath emboldened mee the meanest of many thousands of his subiects to attempt so great an Enterprize, as to lay the foundation of a Worke that may so much import the good of that ancient Kingdome, where so many of your Ancestors were buried, and where your selues were borne. I haue both by reading what doth rest vpon Record, and by conferring with sundry that haue beene imbarcked in such a businesse, beene curious to remarke the managing thereof, that the experience of times past might with the lesse danger at the charges of others, improue them that are to praetize at this present.

And the fruits of my Labours I doe humbly offer heere vnto your Highnesse, hoping by the commendable endeouours, therein remembered (though it selfe be but a triuiall Treatise,

tise, not worthy your sight) to conciliate your good opinion towards them that are to aduenture in this kind. Amongst whom (if euer my fortunes haue any conformitie with my mind) I purpose to contribute as much as my weake abilities can be able to affoord for accomplishing this braue Designe, wherein my greatest Ambition shall be that both this Age and the Posteritie may know how much I desire by some obseruable effect to be remembered for being

Your Highnesse most humble
and affectionate Seruent,
W. A.



were Captaines of Colonies, the Land then being as free as the Seas are now, since they parted them in euery part * 2 where they passed, not taking notice of natiues * without impediment. That memorable troope of *Iews* which *Moses* led from *Ægypt* to *Canaan* was a kind of Colonie though miraculously conducted by God, who intended thereby to aduance his Church and to destroy the rejected Ethnikes. *Salmanezzer* King of *Asshur* was remarked for the first who did violate the naturall ingenuitie of this commendable kind of policy by too politike an intention; for hauing transported the ten Tribes of *Israel*, to the end that transplanting and disperfing them, hee might either weaken their strength, or abolish their memorie by incorporating of them with his other subjects; he to preuent the dangers incident amongst remote vassals did send a Colonie to inhabite *Samaria* of a purpose thereby to secure his late and questionable conquest.

Who can imagine by this industrious course of Plantations, what an vnexpected progresse from a despised beginning hath beene suddenly made to the height of greatnesse! The *Phœnicians* quickly founded *Sidon*, and *Tirus*, so much renowned both by sacred, and humane writers, and a few *Tirians* builded *Carthage*, which had first no more ground allowed her than could be compassed by the extended dimensions of a Bulls hide, which for acquiring of the more ground they divided in as many fundrie parts as was possible, yet in end that Town became the Mistresse of *Afrike*, and the riuall of *Rome*: and *Rome* it selfe that great Ladie of the World, and terrour of all Nations, ambitiously

tiouſly clayming for her founders a few fcandalized fugitives that fled from the ruines of *Troy*, did riſe from ſmall appearances to that exorbitancy of power, which at this day is remembred with admiration; Though the walls of it at that time were very lowe when the one brother did kill the other for jumping over them, either jealousie already preuailing aboue naturall affection, or elſe vnaduifed anger conſtructing that which might haue been caſually or careleſly done, in a ſiniſtrous ſenſe to the hatefull behaviour of infolency or ſcorne; Their number then was not only very ſmall, but they wanted women, *without which they * 3 could not increaſe nor ſubſiſt, till they rauifhed the daughters of the *Sabins*, by a violent march at firſt, portending their future rapins, and what a furious off-ſpring they were likely to ingender. And when that haughty Citie beganne to ſuffer the miſeries which ſhe had ſo long beene accuſtomed to inflict vpon others, the venerable Citie of *Venice* (keeping for ſo many ages a ſpotleſſe reputation) was firſt begunne by a few diſcouraged perſons, who fleeing from the furie of the barbarous Nations that then encroached vpon *Italie*, were diſtracted with feare and (Seeking for their Safety) did ſtumble vpon a commodious dwelling.

The *Grecians* were the firſt, at leaſt of all the Gentiles, (who joyning learning with armes) did both doe, and write that which was worthie to be remembred; and that ſmall parcel of ground whoſe greatneſſe was then only valued by the vertue of the inhabitants, did plant *Trapizonde* in the Eaſt, and many other Cities in *Aſia* the leſſe, the protecting of whoſe liberties was the firſt cauſe of warre between them
and

and the *Persian* Monarchs; then besides all the adjacent Isles they planted *Siracusà* in *Sicile*, most part of *Italie*, which made it to bee called *Græcia maior*, and *Marseills* in *France*. O what a strange alteration! that this part, which did flourish thus, whilest it was possessed by vigorous spirits, who were capable of great enterprises, did so many braue things should now (the seate of base seruile people) become the most abject and contemptible part of all the Territories belonging to the barbarous *Ottomans*, whose insolent Ianissaries (as the Pretorian Guards did with their Emperours, and Mamalukes of *Egypt* with their Soldans) presume at this time to dispose of the Regall power, vpbrayding the miserable follie of Christians, who dangerously embarked in intestine warres, though inuited by an encountring occasion, neglect so great, so glorious, and so easie a conquest.

The *Romanes* comming to command a well peopled
 4 * world, had no vse of colonies, but onely thereby to * reward such old deseruing Soldiers as (age and merit pleading an immunitie from any further constrained trauell) had brauely exceeded the ordinary course of time appointed for military seruice, which custome was vsed in *Germanie*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Brittaine*, and likewise that the Townes erected in this sort might serue for Citidels imposed vpon eury conquered Prouince, whereof some doe flourish at this day, and of others nothing doth remaine but the very name onely, their ruines being so ruined, that wee can hardly condescend vpon what solitary part to bestowe the fame of their former being.

I am lothe by disputable opinions to dig vp the Tombes
 of

of them that more extenuated then the dust are buried in obliuion & will leaue these disregarded relicts of greatnesse to continue as they are, the scorn of pride, witnessing the power of time. Neither will I after the common custome of the world, ouerualuing things past disalue the present, but considering seriously of that which is lately done in *Ireland*, doe finde a Plantation there inferior to none that hath beene heretofore. The *Babylonians* hauing conquered the *Israelites* did transplant them as exposed to ruine in a remote Countrey, sending others of their owne Nation (that they might be vtterly extirpated) to inhabite *Saria* in their places. And our King hath onely diuided the most seditious families of the *Irish* by disperfing them in fundry parts within the Countrey, not to extinguish, but to dissipate their power, who now neither haue, nor giue cause of feare. The *Romanes* did build some Townes which they did plant with their owne people by all rigour to curbe the Natiues next adjacent thereunto, And our King hath incorporated some of his best Brittaines with the *Irish*, planted in fundry places without power to oppresse, but onely to ciuilize them by their example. Thus *Ireland* which heretofore was scarcely discouered, and only irritated by others, prouing to the *English* as the *Lowe Countries* did to *Spaine*, a meanes whereby to waste their men, and their money, is now really conquered, * becoming a strength to the State, * 5 and a glorie to his Majesties gouernment, who hath in the setling thereof excelled all that was commended in any ancient Colonie.¹¹²

As

¹¹² One of the greatest achievements settlement of Ireland. He frequently of James I. was the reorganization and boasted that the management of Ireland was

As all first were encouraged to Plantations by the largesse of the conquests that were proposed vnto them, fearing onely want of people, and not of land, so in after ages when all knowne parts become peopled, they were quickly entangled with the other extremitie, grudging to be bounded within their prospect, and jarring with their neighbours for small parcels of ground, a strife for limits limiting the lienes of many who entring first in controuersie vpon a point of profit though with the losse of ten times more, valuing their honour by the opinion of others behooued to proceed as engaged for the safety of their reputation.

Then richesse being acquired by industrie, and glorie by employments, these two did beget auarice, and ambition, which lodging in some subtile heads vpon a politike consideration to vnite intestine diuisions did transferre their spleene to forraine parts, not seeking to rectifie the affections, but to busie them abroad where least harme was feared, and most benefit expected, so that where they had first in a peaceable sort fought for Lands onely wherewith to furnish their necessity, which conueniency, or sufficiency, did easily accommodate, now ayming at greatnesse the desires of men growne infinite, made them strangers to contentment, and enemies to rest.

Some Nations seeking to exchange for better seates, others to command their neighbours, there was for many ages no speech but of wrongs and reuenges, conquests and
 reuolts,

was his masterpiece. James proceeded by a steady and well-concerted plan; and, in less than ten years, did more towards the improvement of that kingdom than all his predecessors had accomplished in upwards of four centuries.—*History of England by David Hume*, London, 1808, Vol. III. p. 688.

reuolts, razings and ruinings of States, a continuall reuolution determining the periods of Time by the miseries of mankind, and in regard of the populoufnesse of these ages during the Monarchies of the *Affirians*, *Persians*, *Græcians*, and *Romanes*, the world could not haue subsisted if it had not beene purged of turbulent humours by letting out the bloud of many thousands, so that warre was the vniuersall Chirurgeon of these distempered times: And thereafter

* O what monstrous multitudes of people were slaine * 6
by huge deluges of barbarous armies that ouerflowed
Italie, *France* and *Spaine*! and the Christians haue long
beene subiect to the like calamities wanting a commoditie
how they might (not wronging others) in a Christian man-
ner employ the people that were more chargable then
necessary at home, which was the cause of much mischief
among themselues, till at that time when *Spaine* was striu-
ing with *France* how to part *Italie*, as *Italie* had formerly
done with *Carthage* how to part *Spaine*. Then it pleased
God hauing pitie of the Christians who for purposes of
small importance did prodigally prostitute the liues of them
whom hee had purchased with so pretious a ransome, as it
were for diuerting that violent kind of vanitie, to discouer
a new world, which it would seeme in all reason should
haue transported them with designes of more moment,
whereby glory and profit with a guiltlesse labour was to bee
attayned with lesse danger whereunto they are as it were
inuitd, and prouoked with so many eminent aduantages
palpably exposed to any cleare Judgement that I thinke
(this obuious facilitie vilifying that which a further difficul-
tie

tie might the more endeare) the easinesse of the prey hath blunted the appetite.

When *Christopher Columbus* had in vaine propounded this enterpre to diuers Christian Princes, *Isabella* of *Castile* against the opinion of her husband (though so much renowned for wit yet not reaching this misterie) did first furnish him for a Voyage, as if it were fatall that that Nation should owe the greatest part of their greatnesse to the female Sexe, And if the *Spaniards* would sincerely, and gratefully haue bestowed the benefits whereby God did allure them to possesse this Land for the planting of it with Christians enclined to ciuilitie, and religion, it had at this day considering the excellency of the soyle, for all the perfections that nature could affoord; beene the most singularly accomplished place of the world, but it hath unfortunately fallen out farre otherwise, that the treasures * 7 that are * drawne from thence (mynes to blowe vp mindes and rockes to ruine faith) do proue the seed of diffention, the sinewes of the warre, and nurserie of all troubles amongst Christians.

The *Spaniards* that were so happie as to chance first vpon this new World, were of all others (hauing but a vast mountainous Countrey) in regard of their scarcity of people, most vnfit for planting thereof, and could not but soone haue abandoned the fame, if they had not so quickly encountered with the rich Mynes of *Mexico*, *New Spaine* and *Peru*, which were once likely to haue beene lost for lacke of Wood, till the way was inuented of refining Siluer by quicksiluer, which may bee easily done out of any oare that
is

is free from Lead, and (all the *Spaniards* disdayning worke as a seruile thing belowe their abilities) their greatest trouble is the want of workmen : for the Natiues that are extant, suruiuing many vexations, if they become ciuile out of an indulgency to libertie, and ease, whereunto all the *Americans* (liking better of a penurious life thus then to haue plenty with taking paines) are naturally enclined, that they may haue a secure ease warrented by an order, doe betake themselves to Cloisters, so that they haue no meanes to prosecute these workes but by drawing yearly a great number of *Negroes* from *Angola*, and other parts, which being but an vnnaturall merchandise, are bought at a deare rate, and maintayned with danger, for they once of late, as I haue heard from one that was there at that time designed to murther their Masters, by a plot which should haue beene put in execution vpon a Good-friday, when all being exercised at their deuotion were least apt to apprehend such a wicked course, and it is alwaies feared that to reuenge what of necessitie they must suffer, and to procure their libertie hating most what they feele for the present, and hoping for better by a change, they will Joyne with any strong enemy that landing there dare attempt the conquest of that Countrey.

I will not here insist in setting downe the manner how *the *Spaniards* made themselves Masters of so *8 many rich and pleasant Countries, but doe leaue that to their owne Histories, though I confesse (like wifemen) they are very sparing to report the estate of these parts, and doe barre all strangers from hauing acceffe thereunto, wishing

wifhing to enjoy that which they loue in priuate, and not inconfiderately vinting by the vanitie of praifes to procure vnto themfelues the vexation that they might fuffer by the earneft purfuit of emulating riuals, but as they did brauely begin, and refolutely profecute their Difcoueries in *America*, fo hath it iuftly recompensed their courage, prouing the ground of all that greatneffe which at this time (not without caufe) doth make them (as able or willing, to conquer others if not both) fo much fufpected by eury jealous State. And *Henry* the Seuenth the *Salomon* of *England* had his judgement onely condemned for neglecting that good occafion which was firft offered vnto him by *Columbus*, yet did he prefently feeke to repaire his error by fending forth *Sebastian Chabot*¹¹³ a *Venetian* who did difcouer the Ile of *New-found-land*, and this part of the Continent of *America* now intended to bee planted by his Majefties Subjects vnder the name of New *England*, and New *Scotland*, fo that the fruits of his happie raigne ftill growing to a greater perfection and now ripe to bee gathered by this age, as he made way by the marriage of his eldeft daughter¹¹⁴ for vniting thefe two Nations at home, fo did hee the fame likewise by this difcouerie

¹¹³ Sir William Alexander falls into the error, common even at a very early period, of accrediting the difcovery of the north-eaftern coaft of America to Sebastian inftead of John Cabot, to whom the honor properly belongs.

This may perhaps be explained in the fact that Sir John Cabot died foon after the voyage of 1497; while Sebastian not only accompanied his father on the firft, but commanded the fecond expedition, in 1498, and was the difcoverer of the whole coaft from New-

foundland to the Carolinas. He enjoyed a diftinguifhed renown through a period of many years; and the achievement of the father appears, for a long time, to have been loft in the more brilliant fame of the fon.

¹¹⁴ Margaret, the eldeft daughter of Henry VII., married James IV. of Scotland. Their fon, James V. of Scotland, was the father of Mary Queen of Scots, and her fon, James VI. of Scotland, became James I. of England, and united the two crowns.

discouerie abroad, but the accomplishment of both was referued for his Majestie now reigning, and no Prince in the world may more easily effectuate such a purpose since his Dominions affoord abundance of braue men singularly valued for able bodies and actiue spirits whereof the *English* haue already giuen good prooffe of their sufficiency in forraigne Plantations; but before I proceed further in that which doth concerne them I must obserue what the *French* haue done in this kind.

All such aduentrous designs out of ignorance or enuie (either contemned, or doubtfully censured) are neuer *approued, nor imitated, til they be justified by the *9 succeffe, & then many who had first been too distrustfull falling in the other extremitie of an implicate confidence, to redeeme their former neglects, doe precipitate themselues in needlesse dangers. After that the *Spaniards* were knowne to prosper, and that it was conceiued by the Voyage of *Chabot* what a large vastnesse this new Continent was likely to proue, *Francis* the first did furnish forth *John Verrizon* a *Florentine*, who did discouer that part of *America* which was first (and most iustly) called *New France*, and now *Terra Florida*. And vpon his returne he affirming it to be (as it is indeed for all the excellencies of nature) one of the most pleasant parts of the world, This was the cause that after a long delay (during the space of two Princes whole raignes) some new Discoueries reuiuing the memory of this, in the yeere of God 1562. *Charles* the ninth (hauing a haughty mind, and being so rauished with a desire of glorie, that he was sometimes tempted by sinistrous suggestions

tions in seeking after it to goe vpon wrong grounds) was quickly enamoured with the eminency of such a singular designe, wherein hee did employ *John Ribaut*, who comming to *Florida* was kindly receiued by the Natiues there, and hauing made choice of a place where to build a Fort, after hee had stayed a time giuing direction for such things as were necessarie to be done, he left forty men therein when hee came away with one Captaine *Albert* to command them, who after that hee had with difficulty beene freed from the danger of famine, and of fire (vnseasonably affecting the difused austeritie of the Ancients) did for a small offence hang one of his companie with his owne hands, so losing both the dignitie of his place, and the hearts of his people at one time, which hee should haue beene extremely studious to preferue, esteeming them as fellowes of his sufferings, and coheires of his hopes, at least the qualitie of the offence and necessitie of his death should haue beene made so cleare, that as importing a common good, all (if not vrging it)

* 10 should at * least haue condescended thereunto, but this error of his was acquitted in as rude a manner: for his companie putting him to death did make choice of another Captaine, and despairing of a new supplie though wanting skilfull workmen for such a purpose (necessitie sharpening their wits) they builded a little Barque which they calfatted and made fit for the Seas with the Gummes of trees which they found there in stead of Pitch, and in place of Sayles they furnished her with such linnens as they had vpon their beds, and being thus set forth (couragiously ouer comming

a number of admirable difficulties) did returne to *France* after a desperate manner.¹¹⁵

The dangerlesse returne, and plausible hopes of *Ribaut*, assisted by the serious perswasions of the Admirall, (the receiued opinion of whose not questioned wisedome was enough to warrant any thing that had his approbation) did moue the *French* king to send out a great number of men with a competent prouision of all things requisite vnder the charge of Monsieur *Loudonier*, who had a prosperous Voyage, and a congratulated arriuall at the *French* Fort by the Sauages in *Florida*, but immediately thereafter hee was extremely perplexed with the vnexpected, mutinies and factious offers of some whom he had carried with him, who had not gone thither intending what they pretended, out of a cleare resolution to inhabite that bounds, but did onely flee from some inconuences that had vexed them at home, such men as hating labour they could not industriously serue by their endeaouours in a mechanike trade, so were they not caplable of generous inspirations that prouoke magnanimitie, but habitually bred to vice were naturally enemies to vertue, which made thirtie of them taking away a Barke that belonged to the Plantation betake themselves to the Seas in hope (continuing as they had beene accustomed in naughty courses) to feize vpon a prize whereby they might incontinent bee made rich ; and their designe in some measure had the projected issue, but in place of raising their fortunes (the Lord neuer blessing * them that abandon * 11 such a worthie worke, much lesse with a minde to doe mischiefe)

¹¹⁵ *Antea*, p. 26 ; also see note 38, p. 33.

mischiefe) it proued in end away to worke their confusion, And *Loudoniere* being happie to haue his companie purged of fuch pestiferous fellowes did carrie himfelfe brauely as became a commander, aduifedly enquiring concerning the Sauages, what their force was, what relation they had one to another, where they were friends or foes, how their pleasures were placed, and by what accounts they reckoned their gaines or loffes, fo that hee was alwaies ready as might ftand beft with the good of his affaires to affift, or oppofe, to deuide, or agree any partie, thus by fhewing power purchafing authoritie, til he drew the ballance of all bufienefle to bee fwayed where he would as being Master of the Countrey. Hereupon (the vmbragious afperfions of enuie fo darkened reason that it could not difcerne merite at leaft out of a depraued opinion with a derogatory cenfure cancelling all naturall ingenuitie, could not or would not acknowledge what was due thereunto) a report was fspread in *France* by fome that *Loudoniere* liued like a Prince difdayning the condition of a Subjeft, and the *French* out of a prepofterous policie fearing what they fhould haue wifhed that one of their owne Nation could be too great abroad, they fent backe *Ribaut* with a new commiffion to fucceed him in his charge, (fhaking thereby the firft foundation of a growing greatneffe) who feeking to fteale priuately vpon him to preuent aduertifements that hee might take him at vnawares did hardly efcape to haue beene funke at his firft entrie.

Immediately after that *Ribaut* was admitted Gouvernour (*Loudoniere* hauing fhewed himfelfe as dutifull to obey as
he

he had beene skilfull in commanding) intelligence was giuen them that fixe *Spanish* Ships were riding at an anchor not farre from thence, and he ambitiously aspiring to grace his beginning with some great matter against the aduice of all the rest with an obstinate resolution would needs goe and pursue them taking the best of the companie with him, and so left the Fort weakly guarded, which made it

* to proue an easie prey for the *Spaniards* of whom the * 12 most part leauing their Ships (a minde transported with hope not thinking of paine) did march thorow the woods whence no perill was expected, and in a maruellous stormy night, as if the very Heauens (accessarily culpable) had conspired with the malice of men for the working of mischief. When the *Frenchmen* (too much affecting their owne ease) had neglected their watch, surprizing their Fort did put them all to the sword, which extreme crueltie of theirs was brauely reuenged by one Captaine *Gorgues* a Gentleman of *Burdeaux*, who out of a generous disposition being sensible of this publike injurie whereby all his Nation was interested, as if it had only in particular imported the ruine of his owne fortunes, went of purpose to this part, and secretly before his coming was knowne contracting a great friendship with the Sauages who did hate the austere countenance, and rigorous gouernment of the *Spaniards*, when it came to be compared with the insinuating formes of the *French*, he found the meanes by a stratagem that he vsed to entrap the *Spaniards*, by the death of them all expiating that which they had made his Countrymen formerly to suffer, yet after the manner of many being more
apt

apt to acquire than to preferue (actiſg greater things when carried with the impetuofity of a preſent fury than hee could confirme with the conſtant progreſſe of a well ſettled reſolution) he made no more uſe of his victorie, but returned back to *France*, flattering himſelf with the hope of a triumphall welcome, in place whereof by ſome meanes made Court he was proclaimed a Rebell, as a ſacrifice appointed to appeaſe *Spaine*. This was the laſt thing that the *French* did in *Florida*.

The next forraine aduenture was likewise procured by the Admirall, a worthie man, who would gladly haue diuerted the vindictiue diſpoſitions of his Countrymen from the bloody ciuile warres wherewith they were then entangled, to proſecute ſome braue enterpriſe abroad whereby they might not be made guilty, and yet haue
 * 13 glorie, The * man that did offer himſelfe for Conductor of the Voyage was one *Villegagnon* a knight of *Malta* who then pretended to be of the reformed religion (as all doe who affect to appeare what they are not indeed) making ſhew of extriordinary remorſe, and zeale, and that hee had a deſire to retire himſelfe from the vanitie, corruption, and vexation of their parts to ſome remote place in *America*, where profeſſing himſelfe ſuch as he was, he might (free from all kind of impidiments) begin a new life, and where he hoped to found ſuch a Colony as ſhould ſerue for a retreat to all thoſe of the reformed Religion who (weary of the perſecutiōs at home) would goe where they might liue with ſafety, and enjoy the libertie of their conſcience, by this meanes hee got a great number to accōpany him,
 amongſt

amongst whom was *John de Lerie* their Minister, a learned man who wrote a discourse of all that passed in this Voyage, and there were fundry others that came from the Towne of *Geneua*, so that hauing a reasonable number well prouided, hee embarqued and sayled towards *Brasile*, making choice of a place fit for a Plantation, where they found (the soile excellent, the Natiues well inclined towards them, and a supplie comming in due time) all things so concurring for their contentment that they might haue begunne a great worke happie and hopefull for their posteritie, if *Villagagnon* had beene the man that he made them beleue he was, but he apparently neuer louing them of the Religion in his heart had cownterfeited to doe so for a time, onely (angling their affections) by this meanes to draw a supply from them; for as soone as hee was settled in his gouernment, that hee found himselfe strong enough by Catholikes, and others of his friends that he had with him to doe (as hee thought) what he would, straight, remouing the maske that hypocrisie had put vpon him, he discharged all exercise of the reformed religion which no man with more feruency had professed than himselfe, commanding all to conforme themselues to the orders that he had set downe, but (in place of feare which he purposed to giue, receiuing but contempt)

* this base kind of carriage did quite ourthrowe his * 14
 authoritie, and they making a partie amongst themselves did remoue with their Minister *John de Lerie*, which diuision of their Colonie in two was the cause that neither could subsist, so that *Villagagnon* abandoning that Countrey, all after many feveral designs returned vnto *France*, hauing
 found

found no impediment to so good a purpose but the peruerfesse of such mindes as they had carried with them.

Monsieur *De Larauerdier* a very worthie Gentleman did of late enterprife the like courfe in the same bounds, and was crossed in the same manner by the difference of Religion (disputations quickening them to controuert who will not be conuerted) that distracted his companie with feveral opinions, yet at this time a long continuance making that lesse strange amongst the *French* then it was wont to be, the Gentleman did command with such judgement, and discretion, that what euer priuate dislike was, it neuer bursted forth in any open insurrection. And for the space of foure or five yeeres being befriended by the Natiues though continually opposed both by the *Spaniards* and by the *Portugals*, yet he alwaies preuayled, liuing (as himselfe told me) with more contentment than euer he had done in his time either before or since; hee could neuer discern any Winter there by the effects, seeing no stormy weather at all, and finding a continuall greenesse to beautifie the fields, which did affoord such abundance, and variety of all things necessary for the maintaynance, that they were neuer in danger of famine, but in end finding no more people comming from *France*, and fearing that time should weare away them that were with him; then being flattered with the loue of his native soyle, longing to see his friends, and tempted by the hope of a present gaine, which as he imagined might the better enable him for some such purpose in an other part, he capitulated with the *Spaniards* to surrender the place hauing assurāce giuen him for a great summe
of

of money which should haue beene deliuered in
 * *Spaine*, but comming to receiue the same (it being * 15
 more easie to pay debt by reuengeing a pretended
 injurie then with money which some would rather keepe
 then their Faith) he was cast in prison, where hee remayned
 long, till at last he was deliuered by the mediation of our
 Kings Ambassadour, and came here where I spake with him
 of purpose to giue his Majestie thanks. I heare that for
 the present he is now at *Rochell* (with a hope to repaire his
 error) ready to embarque for some such like enterprife.
 This is all that the *Frenchmen* haue done in the South
 parts of *America*, and now I will make mention of their
 proceedings in these parts that are next vnto vs.

Francis the first of *France* a braue Prince, and naturally
 giuen to great things, after the Voyage made by *John Ver-*
rizan (*Chabot* hauing discovered the Continent for *Henry*
 the seuenth) did send forth *Iames Quartier* one of Saint
Malo, who by two seuerall Voyages did discover the Riuer
 of *Canada*, and by his relation doth commend it exceedingly
 as being fertile in variety of Fishes, and bordered with
 many pleasant meadowes, and stately woods, hauing in sun-
 dry parts abundance of Vines growing wilde, chiefly in one
 Ile which he hath called by the name of the Ile of *Orleans*.¹¹⁶
 This man neuer made any Plantation at all, but onely dis-
 couered and traffiqued with the Sauages, neither was there
 any further done by *Roberwall*, who did liue one Winter at
Cape Breton.

The

¹¹⁶ On Alexander's map, the Isle of Orleans is erroneously placed not less than twenty leagues west of Quebec. This is remarkable, especially if, as we may well suppose, Lescarbot's map was before him.

The Marquesse *De la Roche* by a Commission from *Henry* the fourth, intending a Voyage for *Cannada*, happened by the way vpon the Ile of *Sablon* (which is now comprehended within the Patent of *New Scotland*) and there (trusting to the strength of the place where there are no Sauages at all) landed some of his men till hee should haue found a conuenient place within the maine Land fit for habitation, promising then to returne for them; but it was his fortune by reason of contrary winds neuer to finde the maine Land,

being blowne backe to *France* without seeing of them,

* 16 where he was in the time of the ciuile *warres (such is the vncertainty of worldly things producing vnexpected effects) taken prisoner by the Duke of *Mercœur*, and shortly after died, so that his people whom hee had left at *Sablon* furnished but for a short time had quickly spent their prouisions, and tooke for their maintaynance onely such things as the place it selfe did without labour freely affoord, which hath a race of *Kowes*¹¹⁷ (as is thought) first transported thither by the *Portugals* that haue long continued

¹¹⁷ Sable Island is about a hundred miles south-east from Nova Scotia, about twenty-five miles in length, and four or five in its greatest width; in the form of a crescent, having its convexity towards the south; composed of two lines of drift-land, between which are lakes or ponds of water. It has a little grafs, and low fruit-bearing shrubs. It has no harbor, and the whole region about it is a vast sandy shoal. It was early the scene of many shipwrecks. Near it Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished in 1583.

Charlevoix informs us that cattle and sheep were lodged on this island from

Spanish wrecks, and had multiplied, and for a time served for food for the French exiles left there in 1598.—*History of New France, by Charlevoix*, translated by John G. Shea, New York, 1866, Vol. I. p. 244.

Winthrop, writing under date of 1635, says that Mr. John Rose, who had been cast away on Sable Island two years previous to that, "saw about eight hundred cattle, small and great, all red, and the largest he ever saw, and many foxes, whereof some perfect black."—*Winthrop's Hist. New Eng.*, Boston, 1853, Vol. I. p. 193.

ued there, and fundry roots fit to be eaten, with abundance of Fishes, Fowle and Venifon. And (hauing no meanes to liue but by sport) as for their apparell they clothed themselves with the skinner of such creatures as they could kill by Land, or Sea, so that liuing there for the space of twelve yeeres when they were presented to *Henry* the fourth who had hired a Fisherman to bring them home, as I have heard from them that did see them at first before the King, they were in very good health, and looked as well, as if they had liued all that time in *France*: But hauing beene abused by the Fisherman who (cunningly concealing that he had beene directed by the King) did bargain with them to haue all their skinner for transporting them home, which were of great value, some of them being of blacke Foxes, which were sold at fiftie pounds sterling apiece, and aboue, for the recouerie thereof they intended a proceffe against him before the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, wherein by the equitie of their course, or by the compassion of the Iudges, they preuayled, gayning by that meanes a stocke wherewith to trafique in these parts againe.

Monfieur *De Montes* procuring a Patent from *Henry* the fourth of *Cannada* from the 40. degree Eastward comprehending all the bounds that is now both within *New England* and *New Scotland* (after that Queene *Elizabeth* had formerly giuen one thereof as belonging to this Crowne by *Chabots* Discouerie)¹¹⁸ did set forth with a hundred persons fitted for a Plantation, carried in two ships of small burthen, which
parting

¹¹⁸ Queen Elizabeth granted Letters and inhabiting of lands in America, Patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, June "not actually possessed of any Christian 11, 1578, for the discovery, planting, prince." In pursuance of which, he made

* 17 parting from *France* on feuerall dayes did * appoint their meeting at the Port of *Campseau*, but the ship wherein Monsieur *De Montes* had placed himselfe going first, and fearing the huge Mountaines of Ice that diffoluing from the farre Northerne parts come alongst the coast of *Newfound-land* during the Spring time, did take her courfe more to the South, and arriued at Port *De Mutton* a Bay now in the fore-land of New Scotland, from whence one of the Natiues of the Countrey (either out of courtesie, or to gayne a reward) leauing his Wife and Children (as a pledge, or else to bee nourished with them) went to *Campseau*, and within a weeke brought them newes from their other Ship that had arriued there, which comming to them, and Monsieur *Champlein* who had gone in a shallop to discouer the coast being returned, they sayled together Westwards to Cape *Sable*, and from thence Northwards to Bay Saint *Maries*, where towards the South side thereof they found good meadowes and arable ground fit to be planted vpon, and towards the North a mountainous and minerall bounds, hauing discouered one veine of metall that did hold Siluer, and two of Iron stone: After this, hauing seene Port *Royall*, they went to the Riuer called by them *Sante Croix*, but more fit now to bee called *Tweed*, because it doth diuide

New

made a voyage in 1583, and took formal possession at Saint John, Newfoundland, "in the right of the Crowne of England." This right was doubtless supposed to exist in virtue of Cabot's discovery. Such appears to have been the opinion and claim of our author, and other writers of that early period. — *Letters Patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert*; *Hakluyt's Voyages*, London, 1810, 4to, Vol. III. p. 174; *Edward Haies's Report of Gilbert's Voyage of 1583*, *idem*, p. 184; *Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Letter to Sir George Peckham*, 8th August, 1583; *Purchas's Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, Vol. III. p. 808; *Sir William Monson's Naval Traills*, in Churchill's Collection, London, 1745, Vol. III. p. 412.

New England and *New Scotland*, bounding the one of them vpon the East, and the other vpon the West side thereof, here they made choice of an Ile that is within the middle of the same where to winter, building houses sufficient to lodge their number; There, besides other forts of wood, they had store of Cedar trees, and found the ground very fertile as it did proue afterwards, bringing forth that which they did sow with an extraordinary encrease, yet during the Winter time when they could not conuently goe to the maine Land, they found it very incommodeous dwelling, specially for want of fresh Springs; And the soyle being of itselfe humid, and obnoxious to waters, they had not beene so industrious as to cast a ditch wherewith to drie the ground whereupon their houses stood, and in end finding that a little Ile was *but a kind of large prison, * 18 they resolued to returne vnto Port *Royall*, whereof I will giue a particular Description, because it was the place of their residence, as I intend it to be for the chiefe colonie of the *Scottish* Nation, grounding that which I am to deliuer vpon such Discourses as the *Frenchmen* haue written, and vpon that which I haue heard reported by sundry others who haue seene the same.

The entry in Port *Royall* is from the South side of a great Bay, which doth make the South part of *New Scotland* almost an Ile, and hath the passage at first so narrow, with a current so violent, that Ships can hardly enter if they take not the Tide right, and may easily be commanded by any Ordnance that is planted on either side, where there are parts fit for that purpose; as soone as they are within
the

the Bay it doth enlarge it selfe to the breadth of feuen or eight miles, and doth continue so as if it were square for the like bounds in length; There are within the same two Iles eury one of them extending it selfe about three miles in circuit, and both are well garnished with trees, and grasse; Diuers Riuers and Brookes doe fall within this large bosome on eury side, of which the chiefe is one that doth come from the South, being discouered to be aboue fortie miles portatiue, and it hath all alongst on eury side for the bounds of a mile, or half a mile at least, very faire meadows which are subiect to bee ourflowed at high tides, and there is Land fit to be laboured lying betweene them and the woods, which doe compasse all about with very faire trees of fundry sorts, as Oakes, Ash, Playnes, Maple, Beech, Birch, Cypresse, Pine, and Firre; The great Riuer doth abound exceedingly in Salmon and Smelts during their season, and eury little Brooke in Trouts. One Lake within this Bay hath yeerely a great quantitie of Herrings, which by reason of a strict way which they passe are easie to be taken, and all the yeere ouer they neuer want shell-fish, such as Lobsters, Crabs, Cockles and Muffels. The chiefe beasts that inhabite the Woods there, are Ellans, Hart, Hind, * 19 and fallow Deere, with store of other wilde *beasts, such as Wolves, Beares, Foxes, and Otters, but the most vsefull of all is the Beauer, both for his flesh that is esteemed to be very delicate for eating, and for the skinne that is of good value, as for wild foule, there is great varietie and store, of Partridges, Plouers, Woodcockes, Larkes, Wild Geese, Wild Dukes, Heron and Crane,

Crane, with many other forts peculiar to that part of the World, and not knowne here.

Vpon the East side of this Port the *French* did entrench themselues, building such houses as might serue to accomodate their number, and a little from thence *Monsieur Champlain* did cut a walke through the Woods, where they delighted to repaire in Summer to shroud themselves from the heate, and the rather that they had a sweet Melodie which was made by the variety of voyces, of singing Birds which without any affectation did affoord them naturall Musicke.

Some six miles further vp that side of the Riuer they built a Barne, and laboured ground for Wheat; over against which they made a Water-mill vpon a Riuer, that doth fall in on the West side, the Damme of it beeing there where the Herrings haunt most, and they did likewise try some ground neere by for Wheate, whereas their owne Writers make mention, they reaped aboue fortie for one, but what they did was rather trying the nature of the soile to satisfie their curiositie then to haue a quantitie fit for their maintenance, which they trusted to be sent vnto them by two Merchants from the *Rochell*, and were that way well furnished so long as they kepted their skinnes to giue them in exchange (but the Merchants either by some priuate conueyances) or by the comming in of some *Flemmings* to trafique, being disappointed by the Planters as soone as they missed their present Commoditie did likewise frustrate them of the prouisions that they expected.

Whereupon *Monsieur de Montes* betaking himselfe to
trade

trade for Furies, *Monsieur Poutrincourt* resolved to prosecute the Plantation at that place, and sent for his
 * 20 Son * *Biencourt* to *France*, to bargain with some that would send them a supply, such as was requisite for establishing of that Colony.

The first that embraced his Propositions were the Iesuites who as they haue ordinarily good wits which made them the rather capable of so aduantageous a proiect, so they were the more animated thereunto (by vpbrayding the laziness of our clergie) to shew with what feruencie they traueled to propagate the Gospell in doing whereof (whither it be ambition or deuotion that prouokes them sparing no paines) they haue traueled both to the East and West *Indies*, and to that admired Kingdome of *China*; their Societie in *France* preuailing with all that had any inclination either to religion, or to vertue did easily gather a voluntary contribution for the furthering of so commendable a purpose, thereafter they sent away two Fathers of their company with a new supply of all things necessarie to the Plantation at Port *Royall*, but shortly after their arriual (their predominant disposition hardly yeelding to any Superior, specially if it be a Secular power) they beganne to contradict *Poutrincourt*, in the execution of these Decrees which had beene giuen forth by him as Ciuil Magistrate of that place. Whereupon the Gentleman extreemely discontented, and wearie of contesting with them, hauing said that it was his part to rule them vpon earth, and theirs only to guide him the way to Heuen, he returned backe to *France*, leauing his Sonne *Biencourt* in his place, who being a youth at that time of
 more

efit of his Nation, whereof their interest in this was easie to be apprehended, hee went whereas hee was informed that they were, and his unexpected arriuall, as it would seeme, not onely amazed the mindes of the *French*, but likewise preuenting their preparation, and resolution, he approached so neer to a ship that lay before their Fort, that hee beate them all that were within, with Musket shot, from making any vse of their Ordnance, and killed one of the two Iesuits, who was giuing fire to a Peece; hauing taken the ship he landed and went before the Fort, summoning them that were within to yeeld themselues, who at the first made some difficultie, asking a time to aduise, but that being refused, they priuately abandoned the Fort, stealing out by some back way into the Woods, where they stayed one night, and the next day comming backe rendred themselves giuing vp the Patent¹²⁰ they had from the *French* King to bee cancelled, hee vsed them courteously, as their owne Writers doe make mention, suffering such as had a minde to goe for *France*, to seeke out fishers ships wherein they might bee transported, the rest that were willing to goe for *Virginia*, went thither alongst with him, no man hauing lost his life, but onely that one Iesuite who was killed whilest they made resistance during the time of
 * 22 the *conflict, thereafter Father *Biard* the other of the Iesuites comming backe from *Virginia*, with Sir Samuel Argall, out of the indigestable malice that he had conceiued

¹²⁰ The patent to be cancelled was the Marchioness de Guercheville, who, the commission granted to La Sauffaye, with the Queen-regent of France, was who had transported the colony to making extraordinary efforts to plant Mount Defert under the patronage of Roman Catholic missions in America.

ceiued against *Biencourt*, did informe him where he had planted himselfe offering (as hee did) to conduct him thither. As soone as they were entred within the Port, neere the vppermost of the Ilands, Sir *Samuell* directing the ship to ride at a reasonable distance to attend occasions before the Fort, did land himselfe with fortie of the best of his men vpon a Meadow, where immediately they heard a Peece of Ordnance from the Fort, and he conceiuing since it was shot whilst it could do no harme that it was done either but to giue terrour to them, or to warne some that might happen to bee abroad, Did make the greater haste towards the Fort, where hee presently entred, finding it abandoned without any men at all, left for the defence thereof, hee went vp the Riuer side fise or sixe miles, where hee saw their Barnes and the ground where a great quantitie of Wheate had growne, which he carried with him to serue for Seed in *Virginia*, he saw likewise their Corne Mill very Conuently placed, which together with the Barnes hee left standing Vntouched. As for the Fort it selfe he destroyed it downe to the ground, razing the *French* Armes, and leauing no monument remayning, that might witnefs their being there.

After this *Biencourt* who had beene somewhere abroad traueling through the Countrey, comming home desired to conferre with Sir *Samuell Argall*, who did meete with him apart from the Company vpon a Medow, and after they had expostulated a space for what had past controuerting concerning the *French* and *English* Title to these bounds, at last *Biencourt* offered (if hee might haue a protection) to
depend

depend vpon our King, and to draw the whole Furies of that Countrey to one Port, where he would diuide them with him, As likewise he would shew him good Metalls, whereof hee gaue him pieces, but the other refused to ioyne in any societie with him, protesting that his commission was onely to displant him, and that if hee *found him there, after that time he would vse him as an enemy. *Biencourt* labouring earnestly to haue had the Iesuit (as he confessed) with a purpose to hang him. Whilst they were discoursing together, one of the Sauages came suddenly forth from the Woods, and licentiated to come neere, did after his manner earnestly mediate a peace, wondering why they that seemed to bee of one Countrey should vse others with such hostilitie, and that with such a forme of habit and gesture as made them both to laugh.

After this *Biencourt* remoouing from thence to some other part, *Monsieur Champlain* who had liued long here, did carrie a company with him from *France*, of some fortie persons or thereabouts vp the Riuer of *Canada*, whom hee planted on the North side thereof, with a purpose to serue for a Façtorie, drawing all the Trade of that farre running Riuer (which a plantation would haue disperfed in many parts) within the hands of a few whom he doth command otherwise if his desires had beene bended that way, hee might haue planted many people there ere now, the place is called *Kebeck*, where the *French* doe prosper well, hauing Corne by their owne labour, which may furnish themselues for food, and likewise for a stocke to traffique with the Sauages, with fundry Fruits, Roots, Vine, Grapes and Turkey Wheate.

Wheate. *Champlein* hath discovered the Riuer of *Canada*, from the Gulfe vpwards aboue twelue hundred miles, finding in it sometimes such falles, as to scape the fame, he must carrie his Boate a little way by Land, and then hee did many times come to great Lakes at the end whereof hee did find a Riuer againe, and the last Lake where hee came was a very huge one, iudged to bee three hundred miles in length, by the report of some Sauages, who did affirme vnto him, that at the further end thereof they did find Salt-Water, and that they had seene great Vessels which made *Champlein* beleeeue that a passage might be there to the Bay of *California*, or to some part of the South Sea, which would prooue an inestimable benefit for the Inhabitants of those parts, opening a neer way to **China*, which hath * 24 beene so many sundry wayes with so great charges so long sought for, howsoever in regard of the season, and for want of necessary provisions, *Champlein* did returne backe at that time with a purpose to goe againe another yeere, which if he hath done is not yet knowne, but this is most certaine, that the Riuer of *Canada* hath a long course and through many goodly Countreyes, some of these great Lakes by sending forth, or by receiuing great Riuers, do afford meanes of Commerce as farre as to some parts of *Terra Florida*, as may bee gathered by *Champleins* Discouerie. And now hauing giuen a breuiarie of all that is done by the *French* in *America*, I will next report of that which hath beene done by some others.

I will not here make mention of the many and braue Voyages that at the Sea haue happily beene performed by
the

the *English*, which fame by eternall records hath recommended to be applauded by the best judgements of euery age, but I will only shortly touch that which they haue attempted by way of Plantation, beginning with the *Newfound Land* which was first discouered, and doth lie neereſt to this Countrey. Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* hauing a Commiſſion from Queene *Elizabeth* did take poſſeſſion of it in her name at *St. Iohns Harbour*,¹⁸¹ and thereafter purpoſed to haue ſeene *Canada*, but encountering with ſome unexpected croſſes as hee was returning from thence, ſeeking to condemne an opinion (malice or enuie ordinarily taxing all aſpiring ſpirits whoſe vertue by way of reflection doth vpbraide the baſeneſs of others) that had beene conceiued of him as wanting courage, he precipitated himſelfe vpon another extremitie, not to ſeeme fearfull, prouing deſperate; for in the time of a ſtorme, out of a needleſſe brauerie, to ſhew a contempt of danger, being in a little ſmall Pinace, and refuſing to come to his beſt Shippe that was of a larger burden, hee was ſuddenly ſwallowed vp by the waues neere to the Ile of *Sablon*, and his death did ouerthrowe great hopes of a Plantation that by the generouſneſſe of his minde might juſtly haue beene expected from

*25 *him; but long before his time and euer ſince the *English* had vſed to fiſh vpon the Banke, and within the Bayes of *Newfound Land*, and the ſweetneſſe of the benefit ariſing from thence, did perſwade a companie compoſed of *Londoners* and Weſt-country men to joyne together for ſending ſome to inhabite there, where before howſoeuer the

¹⁸¹ *Antea*, p. 175, note 118.

the Summer was large as hote as here, the Winter was thought vnſufferable.

The firſt houſes for a habitation were built in *Cupids* Coue within the Bay of *Conception*, where people did dwell for ſundry yeeres together, and ſome well ſatiſfied both for pleaſure, and profit, are dwelling there ſtill, finding ſmall difference betweene the ſeaſons of the yeere in that Climate, and here. There is another Plantation begunne at Harbour à *Grace* within the ſame Bay by the Citie of *Briſtoll*, called *Briſtols Hope*, whereas by the ſowing and reaping of ſome Cornes of ſundry ſorts doth appeare what further may poſſibly be expected; And within theſe three yeeres Maſter Secretary *Caluert* hath planted a companie at *Farriland*, who both for building and making triall of the ground haue done more than euer was performed before by any in ſo ſhort a time, hauing already there a broode of Horſes, Kowes, and other beaſtial, and by the induſtry of his people he is beginning to draw back yeerly ſome benefit from thence already; which courſe howſoeuer at firſt it proue good, or bad for his particular, is by example beneficiall for the publike.

Laſt, I heare that my Lord Vicount *Falkland* now Lord Deputie of *Ireland*, hath this laſt yeere ſent a companie to inhabite at *Renouze* a place lying South-weſt from *Ferriland*, where the foyle is eſteemed to be the beſt whereupon any hath ſetled there as yet, and hee hath the ſhorteſt way, and beſt opportunitie of any within his Maieſties Dominions for transporting of people and cattell to that part from *Ireland*, which if his courſe bee rightly directed, as all haue reaſon to wiſh, may promiſe him a good ſucceſſe.

The

The first Patentees for Newfound-land haue giuen
 • 26 mee • a grant of that part thereof which doth lie
 North-west from the Bay of *Placentia* to the great
 Gulfe of Canada ouer-against *New Scotland*, where I had
 made a Plantation ere now, if I had not beene diuerted by
 my designes for *New Scotland*, but I purpose to doe it as
 soone as conuently I may. The most part of the bounds
 whereupon any hath planted as yet in *Newfound Land* is
 found to be rockie and not fit to be manured: it may be
 these that made choice thereof (neglecting the Land) had
 onely a regard to dwell commodiously for making vse of the
 Sea, the present profits whereof doth recompence the losse
 of that which might be expected by the other, but there can
 be no hope of any constant dwelling where the people that
 inhabite doe not take a course to maintaine themselues by
 their owne Cornes, and pasture, as all there might doe, if
 they would respect their posteritie more than the present
 time.

Before I come to the Continent I must remember the
 Iles of the *Bermudas*, whose Discouerie and Plantation was
 procured by so strange a meanes, for a Ship happening to
 perish vpon their Coast, her passengers seeking the next Land
 for refuge, they were compelled to doe that out of necessitie
 whereunto in good reason, both for honour and profit, they
 might more warrantably haue beene united.

Thus doth benefit flowe from losse, safety from ruine, and
 the Plantation of a Land from the defolation of a Shippe:
 they found at the first store of Hogs, which in all appear-
 ance had there beginning from some such an accident as
 theirs

theirs was, and the Fowles were there in abundance so easie to be taken that they could scarcely be frighted away, these first people by repairing of their Ship which was cast away vpon the Land, or by building some other Vessell out of her ruines, comming backe to *England*, and reporting what was past, some joyned together in a companie after they had taken a Patent thereof from the King, and did send people of purpose to inhabite there, who trusting too much to the goodnesse of the soyle, and neglecting their owne industrie, or not gouerning that well which was *car- * 27 ried with them, were reduced to a great distrefs for want of victuals, so that, if they had not beene confined within an Island (more sensible of a present suffering then capable of future hopes) they would willingly haue retired from thence, but a great quantitie of Ambergreece hauing been found by one by chance, and sent backe in a Ship that was going for *London*, their Merchants finding it to bee of a great value, were so encouraged by such a substantiall argument, that they presently dispatched away a new supply of persons and all prouisions necessary, who arriuing there, and hauing considered what a gulfe of famine was likely to haue swallowed their fellowes, they improuing their judgement by the others experience, by betaking themselues to labour in time did preuent the like inconuenience; there is no Land where men can liue without labour, nor none so barren whence industrie cannot drawe some benefit, All *Adams* posteritie were appointed to worke for their food, and none must dreame of an absolute ease, which can nowhere subsist positiuely, but onely comparatiuely, according to the occasions more or lesse.

This

This Plantation of the *Bermudas*, a place not knowne when the King came to *England*, hath prospered so in a short time, that at this present, besides their ordinary (and too extraordinarily valued) commoditie of Tobacco, they haue growing there Oranges, Figs, and all kind of fruits that they please to plant, and doe now intend to haue a Sugar worke. These Iles being about twentie miles in bredth can onely be entred into but by one passage, which is fortified and easily commanded by Ordnance, so that, hauing no Sauages within, and fearing no forces without, it is esteemed to be impregnable; and the number of the Inhabitants there, being neere three thousand persons, are sufficient for the ground that they possesse, This part may proue exceedingly steadable to this State, if euer it happen to haue (as it hath heretofore had) any designs for seruice in these Seas.

The first Plantation that euer the *English* intended
 * 28 *abroad was in *Virginia*, which was first discouered and named so by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who in the time of Queene *Elizabeth* did place some persons to inhabite there, who not being supplied in time, or out of ignorance, or laziness, not vsing the ordinary means (the vsual fault of all beginners) were brought by famine to a great extremity.

And Sir *Francis Drakes* comming by chance that way did transport them backe with him to *England*, whilest at the same time there was another companie furnished forth by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who missing them whom they expected to haue found there, did remaine still themselues;
 but

but what did become of them, if they did remoue to some other part, perish, disperse, or incorporate with the Sauages (no monument of them remayning) is altogether vnknowne ;

This noble worke hauing so hard a beginning after a long discontinuance was reuiued againe in the Kings time by a companie composed of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, who (joyning priuate purses with publike supplies) did send thither a sufficient Colonie, well furnished with all things necessary, who after their first comming had a continuall warre with the Natiues, till it was reconciled by a Marriage of the Kings sister with one of the Colonie, who hauing come to *England*, as shee was returning backe, died, and was buried at *Gravesend*. Thus euen amongst these Sauages (libertie being valued aboue life) as they were induced to contest in time, before that power which they suspected, could come to such a height, that it might haue a possibilitie of depressing them, so was their Malice with their feares, quickly calmed by the meanes of a marriage ; Lawfull allyances thus admitting equalitie remoue contempt, and giue a promiscuous off-spring extinguishing the distinction of persons, which if that People became Christians, were in some sort tolerable, for it is the onely course that vniting minds, free from jealousies, can first make strangers confide in a new friendship, which by communicating their bloud with mutual assurance is left hereditary to their posterite.

* This longed for peace, though it bred a great contentment for the time, was attended by wrapping them that apprehended no further danger (too common an inconvenience

ueniente) vp in the lazie remiffness of improuident securitie. For a number leauing the feate of the mayne Colonie, did difperfe themfelues to liue apart, as if they had bin into a well inhabited Countrey, which (as perchance) it had emboldened the Sauages to embrace the firft occafion of a quarrell, fo did it giue them an eafie way for executing the mifchiefe that they intended, by killing two or three hundred perfons before they could aduertize one another, farre lefs, ioyne to oppofe them in a company together, which courfe might not onely then haue made them able to refift, but preuented the others refolution had kept them from being purfued: yet I heare of late, that they haue reuenged this iniury (though (as fome report) not after a commendable manner) by killing their King, with a great number of the chiefe of them whom they fufpected moft.

This Plantation of *Virginia*, if it had not beene croffed by the Incurfion of the Sauages abroad, and by the diuifion of their Owners at home, had attayned to a great perfection ere now, hauing had Inhabitants from hence to the number of neere three thoufand perfons, and if fome of them who are there, being Lords of reaſonable proportions of ground, and hauing people of their owne, owing nothing but due obedience to a Superior Power, and the leading of a life conforme to the Lawes, had no care but (making their Lands maintayne themfelues) how to build, plant, and plenifh in fuch fort as might beft eſtabliſh a fortune for their Poſteritie, they might quickly make vp a new Nation, but is a great diſcouragement vnto them who dwell there, that they muſt labour like the Seruants of a Family, purchaſing

chasing their food and rayment from *England*, in exchange of Tobacco, as they directed by their Masters, many whereof are strangers to the estate of that bounds, and intending to settle none of their Race there, * haue no * 30 care but how the best benefit may presently bee drawn backe from thence, the number of Voyces at their assemblies preualing more than the soundnesse of iudgement, otherwise that Countrey before this time for Wine, Oyle, Wheate, and other things necessary for the life of man might haue equalled for the like quantitie any bounds within *Europe*, to which the soile of it selfe lacking nothing but the like industry is in no way inferior.

And it is to be exceedingly wished by all his Maiesties subiects that the Plantation of *Virginia* may prosper well, which lying neereft to part from whence danger might come, may proue a Bulwarke for the safetie of all the rest.

That which is now called *New England* was first comprehended within the Patent of *Virginia*, being the Northeast part thereof, it was vndertaken in a Patent by a company of Gentlemen in the West of *England*, one of whom was Sir *Iohn Popham* then Lord Chief Justice, who sent the first company that went of purpose to inhabit there neer to *Segadahock*, but those that went thither, being pressed to that enterprize, as endangered by the Law,¹²² or by their
owne

¹²² The reason here suggested by the author for the abandonment of the plantation at Sagadahock is not included among those assigned by other early writers. The inducements held out to the laborer to engage in an American colony, at that time, were not such as to influence the better sort, as we have shown, *antea*, pp. 42-44. Those who were overwhelmed with debt, or whose means of subsistence were meagre at home, were most likely to accept such offers as were made at that period; and it is not unlikely that the "rank and file"

owne necessities (no enforced thing prouing pleasant, discontented persons suffering, while as they act can feldome haue good successe, and neuer satisfaction) they after a Winter stay dreaming to themselves of new hopes at home returned backe with the first occasion, and to iustifie the suddennesse of their returne, they did coyne many excuses, burdening the bounds where they had beene with all the aspersions that posibly they could deuise, seeking by that meanes to discourage all others, whose prouident forwardnes importuning a good successe, might make their base sluggishness for abandoning the beginning of a good worke, to be the more condemned.

About a foure yeeres since, a shippe going for *Virginia*, comming by chance to harbour in the South-west part of *New England*, neere *Cape Cod*, the company whom shee carried for Plantation, being weary of the Sea, and enamored with the beautie of the bounds that first offered it selfe vnto them gorgeously garnished with all wherewith
pregnant

file" of this colony was made up of this class, and that in their extreme poverty they could be properly spoken of as pressed to the enterprise, as endangered by the law or their own necessities.

But the sense of their danger does not appear to have been very deeply seated: it certainly did not drive from their minds the pleasant dreams of new hopes at home, and they were quite ready to face the majesty of the law, "incapable of pity, void and empty from any dram of mercy," rather than to pass another winter in the icy regions of the Sagadahock.

But the leading men in the colony were not of this class. Nevertheless,

they all agreed with one consent that, under the circumstances, it was expedient to abandon the plantation, and return to their English homes. — *Antea*, pp. 31–33.

As Sir William Alexander was aiming at this time to plant a colony in a still more northern region, it was natural that he should not wish to give prominence to the inhospitable character of the climate, as a reason for the failure of this attempt, to which the returning colonists appear to have given currency, but which he justly believed would prove to be no permanent obstacle whatever to settlements in those northern latitudes. He passes over therefore the unusual frosts of 1607.

* pregnant nature rauishing the fight with variety can * 31
 grace a fertile field,¹²³ did resolutely stay, and seated
 themfelues in that place which is now called New Plim-
 mouth, where they haue builded good houfes, and by their
 owne induftry haue prouided themfelues in fuch fort as
 they are likely to fubfift, keeping a good correſpondencie
 with the Captaines of the Sauages, who haue done nothing
 hitherto that might offend them (and after this) though
 they would dare attempt nothing to their preiudice, who
 are now about two hundred perfons, and doe increafe their
 number yeerely.

They find both the Land and the Seas there abounding
 in all things needfull for the vſe of man, and doe gouerne
 themfelues after a very ciuil and prouident manner.

Sir Ferdinando Gorge hath beene a chiefe man for the
 furtherance of all things that might lend to the aduance-
 ment of *New England*, hauing beene at great charges theſe
 many yeeres paſt for the Diſcouerie thereof, in doing which
 (a good intention bent for other ends, caſually bringing
 forth this effect) the fiſhing there (not fought for) was
 found, which doth proue now ſo profitable, as fortie or fif-
 tie Sayle are employed there from *England* yeerely, and
 all

¹²³ This is indeed a roſeate view of the ſands of Cape Cod in a bleak and froſty November! "What could they ſee but a hidious & deſolate wildernes . . . the whole countrie . . . repreſented a wild & ſavage heiw." — *Bradford's Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 78, 79. We ſhould doubtleſs obſerve that, in this "Encouragement," the author is an advocate as well as an hiftorian. He would naturally look upon the bright ſide, if one could be found, of any colo-
 nial enterpriſe which was really ſuc-
 ceeding. On the other hand, it was for
 the intereſt of the colony of New Ply-
 mouth that it ſhould be favorably repre-
 ſented in England; and it is not un-
 likely that the current opinion of it
 there, for ſome years, may have been
 highly colored, and the picture made
 as attractive as poſſible, while the hard-
 ſhips, bitter enough, were kept in the
 background.

all that haue gone thither, haue made aduantageous Voyages.¹⁹⁴

The last yeere, he sent his Sonne Captaine *Robert Gorge* with a Colonie to be planted in Meffafuats bonds¹⁹⁵ and as I heare out of a generous desire by his example to encourage others for the aduancement of so braue an Enterprize he is resolued shortly to goe himfelfe in person, and to carrie with him a great number well fitted for such a purpose, and many Noblemen in *England*, (whose names and proportions as they were marshalled by lot, may appeare vpon the Map) hauing interrested themfelues in that bounds, are to send feuerall Colonies, who may quickly make this to exceed all other Plantations.

Hauing fundry times exactly weighed that which I haue already deliuered, and beeing so exceedingly enflamed to doe some good in that kinde, that I would rather be-
 * 32 wray * the weaknesse of my power, then to conceale the greatnesse of my desire, being much encouraged hereunto by Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and some others of the vndertakers for *New England*, I shew them that my Countymen would neuer aduenture in such an Enterprize, vnles it were as there was a *New France*, a *New Spaine*, and a *New England*, that they might likewise haue a *New Scotland*, and that for that effect they might haue bounds with a correspondencie in proportion (as others had) with the Countrey whereof it should beare the name, which they might hold of their owne Crowne, and where they might bee gouerned by their owne Lawes; they wisely considering that

¹⁹⁴ See *antea*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁵ Typographical error, for *bounds*.

that either *Virginia*, or *New England*, hath more bounds then all his Maiesties subjects are able to plant, and that this purpose of mine, by breeding a vertuous emulation amongst vs, would tend much to the aduancement of so braue a worke, did yeeld to my desire, designing the bounds for mee in that part, which had beene questioned by the *French*¹²⁶ and leauing the limits thereof to bee appointed by his Maiesties pleasure, which are expressed in the Patēt granted vnto me, vnder his great Seale of this Kingdom of *Scotland*, marching vpon the West towards the Riuer of Saint *Croix* now *Tweed* (where the *Frenchmen* did designe their first Habitation) with *New England*, and on all other parts it is compassed by the great Ocean, and the great Riuer of *Canada*, so that though fundry other preceding Patentēs are imaginarily limited by the degrees of the Heauen, I thinke that mine be the first National Patent that euer was cleerly bounded within *America* by particular limits vpon the Earth.¹²⁷

As soone as my Patent was passed, resoluing to take possession of the Lands, that were granted vnto me I prouided my selfe of a ship at *London*, in the moneth of March, in *Anno* 1622. but that the businesse might beginne from that kingdome, which it doth concerne, whereby some of my Countrimen might be perswaded to goe, and others by conceiuing a good opinion thereof, to depend by expectation

¹²⁶ An obvious reference to De Monts's Charter of 1603, and the French settlements broken up by Sir Samuel Argall in 1613.

¹²⁷ The claim that this was the first national charter in which the boundaries were laid down by the aid of natural objects, and without reference to degrees of latitude, we believe to be correct. This circumstance marks the progress of geographical knowledge.

* 33 * expectation vpon the reports of such of their acquaintance, as were to aduenture in that Voyage, I directed her to Saint *Georges* Channell, to *Kirkcubright*, where she arriued in the end of May; some Gentlemen of that Countrey, vpon whose friendship I reposed most, happening at that time to bee out of the Kingdome, I encountered with fundry vnexpected difficulties: the prizes of victuals beeing within the space of three monethes, since I had parted before from *Scotland*, suddenly tripled, and yet so scarce as I could hardly in haste bee well furnished, yet since I was so far advanced, lest I should loose that which was done, if I did not the rest, I vsed the best diligence I could to prouide the shippe with all things necessary. Then the very people specially Artezens, of whom I stood in need, were at first loth to imbarke for so remote a part, as they imagined this to bee, some scarce beleeuing that there could bee any such bounds at all, and no wonder, since neuer any in that part had euer trauelled thither, and all nouelties beeing distrusted, or disualued, few of good fort would goe, and ordinarie persons were not capeable of such a purpose.

At last, in the end of Iune, they parted from thence to the Ile of *Man*, and after some stay there, in the beginning of August, leauing the sight of his Maiesties Dominions, did betake themselves to the Sea. Though by reason of the latenessse of their setting forth, they had the windes very contrary about the middest of September, they discouered Saint *Peters* Ilands, and were neere to Cape *Bretton*, but yet were beaten backe againe by a great storme to *New-found-land*

found-land. And as they passed by the Bay of *Placentia*, neglecting the occasion to place themselves in some part of my bounds,¹²⁸ there as they might have done, they went into Saint *Iohns* Harbour, where they concluded to stay that Winter, and sent the ship home for a new supply of such things as were needfull.

Though it might have discouraged mee much, that they had retired to *New-found-land*, foreseeing that what they had with them might be wasted, and that it would bee as * chargeable and difficult to furnish them forth from * 34 thence, as if they were to goe of new from Scotland, yet rather then they should bee in danger for want of prouision, making me any way guiltie of their losse, that had aduentured their liues, trusting to my care, I fraughted a shippe of purpose furnished with such things as were required in a Note, which they sent home with their Messenger.

This shippe was dispatched by mee¹²⁹ from *London* in the end of March 1623. but shee happened to stay so long at *Plimmouth*, first, vpon some necessary occasions, and last by contrary winds, it being the eight and twentieth of April, before shee parted from thence, hauing no good windes at all, that they arriued not at Saint *Iohns* Harbour till the fift of Iune. At their comming they found the company not fit for a Plantion which had first by an vnexpected cause been diuided in two during the Winter, and in May
some

¹²⁸ Sir William Alexander had received, from the first patentees of New-foundland, a grant of part of that island. See map; also *antea*, p. 188.

¹²⁹ Mr. Burton is in error in suppos-

ing that Sir William Alexander accompanied this expedition. He made no personal visit to his plantations in America. — *Burton's History of Scotland*, Vol. VI. pp. 345, 346.

some doubting of a supply, had engaged themselves to serve Fishermen, by which means they gained their maintenance, and some means beside, so that they could hardly be gathered to gether againe, and their Minister¹³⁰ and Smith (both for Spirituall and Temporall respects, the two most necessary members) were both dead, so that seeing no hope to plant themselves in any good fashion that yeere, ten of the principall persons concluded to go alongst with the ship to *New Scotland*, to discover the Countrey, and to make choice of a fit place for a Habitation against the next yeere, considering very well, that they could not doe so much good by staying there with so few a number, as they might doe at their returne, by reporting the truth to their friends, of that which they had seene, whereby a new Colonie might be encouraged to set forth well furnished, and instructed according to that which might be learned by their experience.

The three and twentieth of Iune, they loosed from Saint *Iohns* Harbour, and sayled towards *New Scotland*, where for the space of fourteene dayes, they were by fogges and contrary winds kept backe from spying Land till the eight of Iuly, that they saw the West part of Cape

Bretton

¹³⁰ Mr. David Laing edited this tract of Sir William Alexander, in a collection of Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, published in 1867. However incredible it may seem, the following statement touching the minister sent out with the first company by Sir William Alexander, had, we must believe, escaped his notice when he wrote the following: "In all the early signatures, the similar words are repeated, 'For Propagation of Christiane religion within the bounds, countrey and dominion of New Scotland, by and within the bounds of America.' But not a single instance is on record of either the King, Sir William Alexander, or his adventurers, having, I will not say sent, but even of having proposed to send, a minister or missionary for such a purpose." — *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 126.

Bretton, and * till the thirteenth day, they fayled * 35
alongst the Coast, till they ranne the length of Port *de*
Mutton, where they discovered three very pleafant Harbours,
and went ashore in one of them, which after the shippes
name, they called *Lukes* Bay, where they found a great way
up a very pleafant Riuer, being three fathom deep at a low
water at the entry thereof, & on euery fide of the fame
they did see very delectate Medowes, hauing Rofes white
and red, growing thereon with a kind of wilde Lilly, which
had a daintie fmel, the next day they refolued (coasting
along the land) to discover the next Harbour, which was
but two leagues distant from the other, where they found
a more pleafant Riuer than the first, being foure fathome
deep at a low water with Medowes on both fides thereof,
hauing Rofes and Lillies growing thereon as the other
had, they found within this Riuer, a very fit place for a
Plantation, both in regard that it was naturally apt to be
fortified, and that all the ground betweene the two Riuers,
was without wood, and very good fat Earth, hauing feuerall
sorts of berries growing thereon, as Goose-berries, Straw-
berries, Hind-berries, Rasberries, and a kind of red Wine-
berie, as also some sorts of graine, as Pease, some Eares of
Wheate, Barly and Rie growing there wilde; the Pease
grow in abundance alongst the Coast, very bigge and good
to eate, but did taste of the fitch, this Riuer is called Port
Iolly, from whence they coasted along to Port *Negro*, beeing
twelue leagues distant, where all the way as they fayled
alongst, they spied a very pleafant Countrey, hauing grow-
ing euery where such things as were obserued in the two
Harbours

Harbours where they had beene before. They found likewise in euery Riuer abundance of Lobsters, Cockles, and other shel-fishes, and also not onely in the Riuers, but all the coast alongst, numbers of seuerall sorts of Wild-foule, as Wild-goose, black Ducke, Woodcocke, Crane, Heron, Pidgeon, and many other sorts of Fowle which they knew not. They did kill as they sayled alongst the Coast great store of Cod, with seuerall other sorts of great fishes.

* 36 * The Countrie is full of Woods not very thicke, and the most part Oake, the rest are Firre, Spruce, Birch with some Sicamores, and Ashes, and many other sorts of Wood which they had not seene before. Hauing discovered this part of the Countrie, in regard of the Voyage their ship was to make to the Straits with fishes, they resolved to coast alongst from *Lukes Bay* to *Port de Mutton*, beeing foure leagues to the East thereof, where they encountred with a *Frenchman*, that in a very short time had made a great Voyage, for though he had furnished one ship away with a great number of fishes, there were neere so many readie as to load himselfe & others. After they had taken a view of this Port, which to their iugement they found no waies inferior to the rest they had seene before, they resolved to retire backe to *New-found-land*,¹³¹ where their ship was to receiue her loading of fishes. The 20. of Iuly they

¹³¹ Mr. Bancroft represents, strangely enough, that the two ships sent out by Sir William, one in 1622 and the other in 1623, went together on this exploring expedition, and that they were so filled with fear as scarcely to accomplish their errand! "The next spring, a second ship arrived; but the two vessels in company hardly possessed courage to sail to and fro along the coast, and make a partial survey of the harbors and the adjacent lands." — *Bancroft's History of the United States*, Vol. I. p. 332.

they loosed from thence, and the seuen and twentieth thereof they arriued at Saint *Iohns* Harbour, and from thence sailed alongst to the Bay of *Conception* where they left the ship, and dispatched themselues home in seuerall ships that belonged to the West part of *England*.

This is no wonder, that the French beeing so slightly planted, did take no deeper roote in *America*, for they as onely desirous to know the nature and qualitie of the soile, and of things that were likely to grow there, did neuer seeke to haue them in such quantitie as was requisite for their maintenance, affecting more by making a needlesse ostentation, that the World should know they had beene there, then that they did continue still to inhabit there, like them, that were more in loue with glorie then with vertue, then being alwaies subiect to diuisions amongst themselues, it was impossible that they could subsist, which proceeded sometime from emulation or enuie, and at other times from the lazinesse of the disposition of some, who (lothing labor) could bee commanded by none, who would impose more vpon them then was agreeable with the indifferencie of their affections and superficiall endeouours.

* The *English* were free from these mutinies, and * 37
wanted not industry enough, but either out of a custome they haue to trauel more for the benefit that doth flow from grasse, then by manuring of the ground for Corne, or otherwise if they were forced so to do by their Owners at *London*, who enforcing a speedie returne by their labour, would needs be trusted with furnishing of them victuals, they applying themselues to Tobacco, and such things as
might

might import a present commoditie, neglecting the time that might haue beene employed for building, planting and husbandrie, did liue but like hired Seruants, labouring for their Masters, and not like Fathers prouiding for their Familie and Posteritie, which can neuer bee auoided till the ground be inhabited by them, that being Owners thereof, will trust it with their maintenance, and doe content themselues with the delight of that which may giue glorie to them, and profit to their heires.

The Plantations of *America* do approach nearest to the puritie of these that (by industrious dilligence) in the infancie of the first age did extend the multiplying generations of Mankind, to people the then Defert Earth, for here they may possesse themselues without dispossessing of others, the land either wanting Inhabitants, or hauing none that doe appropriate to themselues any peculiar ground, but (in straggling company) runne like beasts after beastes, seeking no foile, but onely after their prey. And where of old the *Danes, Gaules, Gothes, Hunnes, Vandals, Longobards*, and thereafter *Sarazens, Turkes, and Tartarians*, did (with an inundation of people) encroach vpon these places of *Europe*, which were most ciuil, and where the Gospel was best planted, out of an ambitious enuie to draw vnto themselues the glory that any Nation had formerly gained, or out of an exorbitant auarice to swallow vp their substance, and to vsurpe (if they had power challenging right) any lands that were better than their own, as the most part did in *Greece, Hungary, Spaine, Italy* and *France*. We here go to

* 38 cause preach the Gospel where it was neuer heard *and
not

not to subdue but to ciuillize the Sauages, for their ruine could giue to vs neither glory nor benefit, since in place of fame it would breed infamie, and would defraud vs of many able bodies, that hereafter (besides the Christian dutie in sauing their soules) by themselues or by their Posteritie may serue to many good vses, when by our meanes they shall learn lawfull Trades, and industries, the Authors whereof (though preuenting the like Superstition) may acquire no lesse reuerence from them, nor in like case of old *Saturne*, *Bacchus*, *Ceres* and *Pallas*, by teaching to plant Corne, Wine, and Oyle, did get from the credulous ignorance of them with whom they communicated their knowledge.

When I doe consider with myselfe what things are necessarie for a Plantation, I cannot but be confident that my owne Countrymen are as fit for such a purpose as any men in the world, hauing daring mindes that vpon any probable appearances doe dispise danger, and bodies able to indure as much as the height of their minds can vndertake, naturally louing to make vse of their owne ground, and not trusting to traffique. Then *Scotland* by reason of her populousnesse being constrained to disburden her selfe (like the painfull Bees) did euery yeere send forth swarmes whereof great numbers did haunt *Pole* with the most extreme kinde of drudgerie (if not dying vnder the burden) scraping a few crummes together, till now of late that they were compelled, abandoning their ordinary calling, to betake themselues to the warres against the *Russians*, *Turks*, or *Swedens*, as the *Polonians* were pleased to employ thæ, others of the better
fort

fort being bred in France, in regard of the ancient league, did find the meanes to force out some small fortunes there, till of late that the *French* though not altogether violating, yet not valuing (as heretofore) that friendship which was so religiously obserued by their predeceffours, and with so much danger and losse deserued by ours, haue altered the estate of the Guards, and doe derogate frō our former
 * 39 liberties, which this King now reigning, we * hope, will restore to the first integritie. The necessities of *Ireland* are neere supplied, and that great current which did transport so many of our people is worne drie. The *Lowe Countries* haue spent many of our men, but haue enriched few, and (though raising their flight with such borrowed feathers, till they were checked by a present danger) did too much vilipend these fauourable Springs by which their weaknesse was chiefly refreshed : But howfoeuer some particular men might prosper vnder a forraine Prince all that aduenture so, doe either perish by the way, or if they attaine vnto a fortune, doe lose the same by some colour that strict lawes vrged against a stranger can easily afford, or else naturalizing themselves where they are, they must disclaime their King and Countrey, to which by time (the object of their affections altered) being bound to haue a care of that part where there posteritie must liue, they turne euery way strangers, which necessitie imposed vpon them to take this course, and inconuences following thereupon, may be preuented by this new Plantation. And where the *Scottish* Merchants before had no trade but by transporting Commodities that might haue beene employed at home,
 and

and oftentimes monie, to bring backe Wine from *France*, and Pitch, Tarre, and Timber from the Easter Seas. Now only by exporting of men, Corne, and Cattle, they may within a little time be able to furnish back in exchange these things before named. As likewise a great benefit of Fishes,¹³⁹ Furres, Timber and Metals, drawing forth our people to forreine Traffique, wherewith they neuer haue bin accustomed before, and that to the great increase of the Customes, helping hereby to enrich that ancient Kingdome, which of all the rest hath onely lost by his Maiesties greatnessse, being hereby not onely defrauded of his owne preference, and of the comfort his countenance did continually affoord, but likewise of many Commodities arising to any Countrie where a Court is Resident, as the vniuersall pueritie thereof (hauing few rich vnlesse it bee some * Iudges and their Clerkes) by a common complaint * 40 doth too sensibly testifie.

I have

¹³⁹ Captain John Mafon, in his "Discourse of the New-foundland," published in 1620, speaks of the fishing interest with great enthusiasm. "But of all, the most admirable is the Sea, so diuersified with severall sorts of Fishes abounding therein, the consideration whereof is readie to swallow vp and drowne my senses not being able to comprehend or expresse the riches thereof." For the glowing and specific account which follows, the reader is referred to Mafon's Tract.

As a source of wealth, this interest is stated by him as follows:—

"The great intercourse of trade by our Nation these threescore years and vpwards, in no small numbers frequenting the New-found land, and daylie increasing, with the likeliness thereof to

continue, fish being a staple commodity with vs, and so sellable in other countries yearlie imploying 3000. thousand (a) sea-men and breeding new daylie, also freighting three hundred Ships in that voyage, and releuing of 20000. people moe here in *England* (for most of these fishers are married and haue a charge of Children, and liue by this meanes not being able to gaine halfe so much by another labour) furthermore the reueneue that cometh to the King by the customes of *French*, *Spanish* and Straights goods imported, from the proceede of this fish-trade suppose at the least to the value of ten thousand pounds yearely."

(a) "Three thousand seamen" would better express the meaning.

I have neuer remembred any thing with more admiration then *America*, considering how it hath pleased the Lord to locke it vp so long amidst the depths, concealing it from the curiositie of the Ancients, that it might be discouered in a fit time for their posteritie, they were so far of old from apprehending it by any reach of reason, that the most learned men (as they thought) by infallible grounds, in regard of the degrees of the Heaven, did hold that these Zones could not be inhabited, which now are knowne to include the most pleasant parts in the World. This neuer came to the knowledge of any Hebrew, Greek, or Roman, who had the most able mindes to haue found out such a mistry: and howfoeuer some would glose vpon that Fable of *Platoes* Atlantic Iland, I haue neuer obserued any thing amongst the Ancient Writers tending to such a purpose, if it be not these lines of *Seneca* the Tragedian, whereby hee might (if not with a prophetick, yet with a poetic rapture) deliuer that which he had a mind to make the posteritie expect, and was in possibilitie to happen.

Venientannis —
 Secula feris, quibus oceanus
 Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
 Pateat tellus, Tiphisque nouos
 Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
 Vltima Thule.

And it is a thing not yet comprehended by the course of naturall reason, how these parts of the World came first to be peopled; We must grant (according to the grounds of Diuinitie) their people to be descended from *Noah*, and is it not long since that (the Load stone being found out) the
 best

best Saylers (scorning as in former times to be only Coasters) haue brought the Art of Nauigation to that perfection, that they durst resolutely aduenture to search the most remote *parts in the Ocean, and if any had gone *41 thither of purpose to inhabite, they would haue carried with them the most vsfull kindes of tame Cattle, such as Horses, Cowes, and Sheepe, whereof neuer any was found in these parts, till they were transported thither of late yeeres; but onely such wild beasts as of themselves might haue wandred any where through vast Forests, and Deferts: so that I doe thinke there must bee some narrow passage vpon the East, towards *Terra Australis Incognita*, not yet discovered, from whence people by time might haue come (crossing the Straits of *Magelane*) to inhabite *Brafle*, *Chile*, and *Peru*, or rather I should thinke that there were some Continent, or Narrow Sea towards the North, about the Straits of *Anien*, from whence the first inhabitants of *America* might haue come; because the wild beasts that are there are creatures most peculiar to the North, such as Elkes, Beares, and Beauers, which are knowne to bee ordinary with the *Russians*, and *Tartarians*; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, when I remember of the Mountains of Ice that come floting euery Spring alongst the Coast of *New-found-land*, which (as it is likely) may diffolue from some Sea that hath beene frozen during the Winter time, ouer which people, and wild beasts might haue commoditie to passe; but this is a matter that can hardly bee determined by demonstration or reason, therefore (all men forming that which they know not, according

to

to the square of their owne conceits.) Wee must leaue this to the vnlimited libertie of the imagination of man.

But the thing most wonderfull of all is this, though now it bee clearly discouered, that so few are willing to make vse therof; this doth chiefly proceed from want of knowledge, few being willing to aduenture vpon that wherewith they are not acquainted by their owne experience, and yet those who haue not made triall themselues, if they will trust

others, may bee abundantly satisfied by the reports of a
 * 42 number, who to Plant and Traffique do yeerely * haunt these parts. If the true estate of that which might bee done at this time by the ioyning of some reasonable company together were rightly vnderstood, then so many would not liue at home as they do, losing their time, where they can make no benefit, and burdenable to them to whom they are not vsfull, rather admitted, than welcommed, the one thinking that their seruice should deferue a reward, and the other that their maintenance is an vnecessary charge, neither gaining, and both discontented: then would not so many aduenture their liues for the defence of strangers, whereby they scarce can acquire that which doth defray their owne charges, and howsoever the hope of Honour may flatter a generous spirit, there is no great appearance by this meanes to prouide for a Family, or for a Posteritie. And if we rightly consider the benefit that may arise by this enterprise abroad, it is not onely able to afford a sufficient meanes for their maintenance, who cannot conueniently liue at home, by disburdening the Countrey of them, but it is able to enable them to deferue of their Countrey, by bringing vnto it both Honour and Profit.

Where

Where was euer Ambition baited with greater hopes then here, or where euer had Vertue so large a field to reape the fruites of Glory, since any man who doth goe thither of good qualitie, able at first to transport a hundred persons with him furnished with things necessary, shall haue as much Bounds as may serue for a great Man, wherevpon hee may build a Towne of his owne, giuing it what forme or name hee will, and being the first Founder of a new estate, which a pleasing industry may quickly bring to a perfection, may leaue a faire inheritance to his posteritie, who shall claime vnto him as the Author of their Nobilitie there, rather then to any of his Ancestours that had preceded him, though neuer so nobly borne elsewhere, and if the vastnesse of their hopes cannot bee bounded within their first limits, as soone as they haue strengthened * themselues for such a designe, either by Sea or by * 43 Land, (in regard of the large Countries next adiacent hereunto) there doth alwaies rest a faire possibilitie of a further encrease, either for them, or for their successours; and so every one of inferior sort may expect proportionably according to his aduventure: The Merchants that are giuen to trade, where can they haue a fairer ground for gaine then here: and that besides that which may bee expected from so fertile a Land by industry or husbandry hereafter, in present commodities, such as Cod fishes and Herring in the Seas, Salmonds in the Riuers, Furres, Pype-staues, Potashes, and all that may arise from the plentie of good Wood, Mineralls, and other things though not knowne to strangers that onely coast alongst the Lands, that may
bee

bee discouered hereafter by them that are to inhabite the Bounds.

Here those that are so disposed, without making a Monasticall retreat (free from a multitude of troubles) may inioy the pleasures of contemplation, being solitary when they will, and yet accompanied when they please, and that not with such company as (pressed by importunitie) they must discontentedly admit, but onely by them of whom they haue made choice, and whom they haue carried with them, with whom (as partners of their trauels) by mutuall discourses they may remember their former dangers, and communicate their present ioyes: here are all sorts of objects to fatisfie the varietie of desires. I might speake of the sport that may bee had by Hunting, Hawking, Fishing and Fowling, where all these creatures haue had so long a time for increase, without being destroyed or frightened, as likewise of the great contentment that must come by daily discoueries of new Fieldes and Riuers, with the diuersitie of things not seene before that may happen to be found in them: but I would rather haue all at first to thinke of the paines they must endure, in bringing of so notable a Worke to perfection, since no good thing can be had with ease, and all the

* 44 sonnes of men are borne to *labour. But leauing these worldly respects, the greatest incouragement of all for any true Christian is this, that heere is a large way for aduancing the Gospel of Iesus Christ, to whom Churches may bee builded in places where his Name was neuer knowne; and if the Saints of Heauen reioyce at the conuersion of a Sinner, what exceeding ioy would it bee to them to see many

many thousands of Sauage people (who doe now liue like brute beasts) conuerted vnto God, and I wish (leauing these dreames of Honour and Profit, which doe intoxicate the braines, and impoyson the minde with transitory pleasures) that this might bee our chiefe end to begin a new life, seru- ing God more sincerely then before, to whom we may draw more neere, by retyring our selues further from hence.

As I would haue no man that hath a mind for this course, to abuse his iudgement, by trusting to much to the fertilitie of the bounds where he is to goe, and too little to his owne prouidence, and industrie, whereby he may be made to neglect the preparing himselfe for this Voyage after such a manner as is requisite, So I altogether dislike them that possessed with the preposterous apprehensions of feare (like the lazie man of whome Salomon speaketh, that pretending difficulties to preuent trauell, would say there was a Lion in the way) will needs imagine the worst that is in possibilitie to happen: for such a man (too ingeniously subtile in coniecturing danger) doth both by preiudicated opinions disable himselfe, and discourage them, who not being duely informed, are confirmed by the confidence of other vnder- takers, that professe to haue knowledge, there is no man at home where he was borne, so free from the accidents of fortune who may not quickly by a publike, or by a priuate calamitie be brought in some measure to suffer, and much rather should wee arme our selues with a high resolution against all inconueniences that can occurre in such a forraine enterprise (being circumspectly *prouident, *45 but not cōfounded with a deiecting feare) where the
greatnesse

greatnesse of so well grounded hopes for vs and for our Posteritie should make vs (hoping for pleasure) to digest any present paine, with a courage greater then can bee braued by any apprehended trouble. And because the Lord in such eminent Exploits doth commonly glorifie himselfe by a few number, I wish that all such whose hearts doe misgiue them portending any disaister (like them of *Gideons* troupes that bowed downe like beasts to the water) should retire in time, ere the contagioufnesse of their infirmitie come to infect them that are more soundly disposed. There is no iust cause for a reasonable man to feare any worldly thing, but onely disgrace and want of necessary mayntenance: A man can hardly fall in the first here, since an honourable intention what euer the succeffe prooue must acquire prayse, and the other by ordinary meanes, is easie to be auoyded, but I am so farre from painting out a supposed fecilitie to snare weake minds, that I would haue none (with whom it is not fit to communicate more then they be capeable of) to imbarke in this busines, but only such as do resolute against the worst, for I professe as *Cato* did, when he was to enter the Deserts of *Arabia*.

——— Neque enim mihi fallere quenquam
 Est animus, tectoque metu perducere vulgus.
 Hi mihi sint comites, quos ipsa pericula ducent,
 Qui me teste, pati, vel quæ tristissima, pulchrum,
 Romanumque putant; at qui sponfore salutis
 Miles seget, capiturque animæ dulcedine, vadat
 Ad Dominum meliore via. ———

And last should not these memorable Exploits of late performed in the East and West *Indies* by the *Flemmings*,
 enflame

enflame vs with a generous ardour to equall, or rather to exceede them, whose penuritie of people (euen at home) must bee supplied by the superfluitie of ours: They haue *not onely in the East *Indies* by seuerall Habi- *46 tations appropriated large Territories to themselues, but likewise to the great preiudice of their Neighbours, improouing their owne profit, haue engrossed the generall commerce by consequence depending thereupon. And if they seate themselues (as it is likely they will doe) in *Brafill*, prouidently prosecuting the good beginning that they haue gotten by sparing people of their owne, or by interesting Strangers whom they dare trust for founding of a sufficient Colonie, that being strong enough to defend and command the Inhabitants. (Securely exacting a due obedience) may enable them for greater matters; then conferring with the very Springs whence the streames flow that entertayne the power of their enemies (exhausting their substance both by Sea and Land) they haue a maruellous faire occasion offered to aduance themselues by depressing of the opposed partie whose prosperous and desired successe (whilst the adding to one doth derogate from another) if not emulated in time, will bee enuied hereafter.

I know that many of my Nation if they had beene as willing as they are able had beene more fit then I am for this purpose, but yet it hath oftentimes pleased God to doe the greatest matters by the meanest Instruments. And as no one man could accomplish such a Worke by his owne priuate fortunes, so if it shall please his Maiestie (as he hath euer been disposed for the furthering of all good Works
more

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more for the benefit of his Subjects, then for his owne particular) to giue his helpe. accustomed for matters of lesse moment hereunto, making it appeare to be a Worke of his own, that others of his subjects may be induced to cōuerse in such a common cause, no man could haue had my charge that with more affection and sinceritie should haue vsed his endeouours for discharging of the same, but I must trust to be supplied by some publike helps, such as hath beene had in other parts, for the like cause whereunto, as I doubt
*47 not but *many will be willing out of the noblenesse of their disposition, for the aduancing of so worthy a Worke, So I hope will some others, the rather out of their priuate respect to me, who shall continue as I haue heretofore done, both to doe and write in so farre, as so meane an abilitie as mine may reach, what (I conceiue) may proue for the credit or benefit of my Nation, to whom I wish all happinesse.

F I N I S.



NOVODAMUS CHARTER

OF

NEW SCOTLAND IN AMERICA,

IN FAVOR OF

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER OF MENSTRIE, KNIGHT,

12 JULY, 1625.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith, To all good men of his whole land, clergy and laity, greeting. Know ye,

[This Charter in the original is the same, *ipsissimis verbis*, from the second sentence on page 127, beginning, "Know ye," to the sentence on page 147, beginning, "Finally we for ourselves and our successors," as the Charter of 1621. This part is therefore omitted here, and the reader is referred back to that Charter for what is here wanting.]

in which case the heirs and assignees of the said Sir William Alexander shall, notwithstanding the foresaid non-entry, enjoy

NOTE.— This translation of the Novodamus Charter is taken from the Appendix to a Narrative of Law Proceedings privately printed at Edinburgh in 1836. "New Scotland" has been introduced wherever "Nova Scotia" occurs, to prevent any confusion with the present province of that name, the boundaries of the two being widely different.

enjoy and possess all and sundry the foresaid lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland, with all and sundry profits, commodities, benefits, privileges, and liberties of the same, as if the said non-entry had never happened, or as if they had never fallen in non-entry: Which lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland, as well mainlands as islands, within all and sundry the said bounds and seas thereof, with the woods, fishings, as well in salt waters as in fresh, of royal fishes as of others, with pearls, precious stones, veins, royal minerals of gold and silver, other minerals of iron, steel, lead, copper, brass, tin, mountain brass, and others whatsoever; and all privileges, liberties, immunities, prerogatives, offices, and jurisdictions, and others, specially and generally above recited, formerly belonged to the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, and were by him and his procurators, in his name, duly and lawfully resigned in our hands; and that for our new heritable infeftment of the same to be granted in favour of the said Sir William, or his heirs and assignees foresaid, in due and competent form, as accords, to be holden, as said is, with dispensation of non-entry, in manner before written, when it shall happen. Moreover, we, with advice before written, for the good, faithful, and willing service performed and rendered to us by the said Sir William Alexander, and respect being had to the great and manifold expenses and charges bestowed and expended in the plantation of the said bounds of the lordship and country of New Scotland, and reduction of them, under our obedience, and for other weighty and onerous causes, have of new given, granted, and disponed, and, by our present

ent charter, give, grant, and dispoſe to the before-mentioned Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, heritably, all and fundry the foresaid lands, lordship, and country of New Scotland, together with all and fundry castles, towns, fortalices, manor places, houses, buildings, built and to be built, gardens, orchards, planted and to be planted, tofts, crofts, meadows, grazings, woods, shrubs, mills, multures, mill lands, fishings, as well of red as of other fishes, salmon, large fish as small, in salt water as in fresh, together with all and fundry teind sheaves thereof included, as well great as small, with the presentation, gift of benefices, churches, and chapels, and rights of patronage thereof, annexes, connexes, dependencies, tenants, tenandries, and services of free tenants of the same; together with all and fundry precious stones, jewels, crystal, alum, coral, and others, with all and fundry minerals, veins, and quarries thereof, as well of regal and royal metals and minerals of gold and silver within the said bounds and lordship of New Scotland, as of other minerals of iron, steel, tin, copper, brass, mountain brass, and other minerals whatsoever, with all and fundry parts, pendicles, pertinents, privileges, liberties, and immunities of all and fundry the foresaid lands, lordship, and country of New Scotland, with full power and privilege to the said Sir William Alexander, his heirs and assignees, of trying and searching, digging and examining the ground for the same, and extracting, cleansing, refining, and purifying them, and using, converting, and applying them to their own proper uses, (the tenth part of the royal metals, commonly called the ore of gold and silver, hereafter to be found and extracted out
of

of the said lands and country, only, being reserved to us and our successors), and the remainder of the said metals, minerals, precious stones, jewels, and others whatsoever, to belong to the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, to remain for ever with them, and be, with all profits and duties thereof, converted to their own proper uses; with power to the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, of building, constructing, and erecting upon and within all the bounds of the said country, as shall seem to them expedient, cities, free boroughs of barony, towns, villages, harbours, ports, naval stations; and of appointing fairs and markets, as well within the town as without, and imposing, levying, and receiving all and whatsoever tolls, customs, anchorages, and other dues of the said cities, boroughs of barony, towns, villages, fairs, markets, free ports, harbours, naval stations, with all and sundry casualties, profits, and duties whatsoever; and furnishing the said cities and boroughs, as well within borough as without, with sufficient and able magistrates, justices of the peace, provosts, bailies, aldermen, constables, and other officers, citizens, free burgesses, and manufacturers, crafts of all kinds, with their deacons, and others, thereto requisite, with full power, privilege, and liberty to them, or their children, citizens, and burgesses, to sell wine and wax, salmon, herrings, and other staple goods and merchandises, as well great as small, and constructing churches, chapels, hospitals, maison dieus, market crosses, belfries, bells, and all other ordinary ornaments thereto belonging, and planting the said churches, and sufficiently providing them with sufficient

cient teachers, preachers, pastors, and ministers: And in like manner of erecting, founding, and constructing common schools, colleges, and universities, sufficiently provided with able and sufficient masters, rectors, regents, professors of all sciences, letters, languages, and instruction; and of providing for sufficient maintenance, salaries, and living for them to this effect: As also of erecting prelates, archbishops, bishops, rectors, and vicars of parishes, and parish churches, and distributing and dividing all the foresaid bounds of the said country into divers and distinct shires, provinces, and parishes, for the better provision of the churches and ministry, division of the shires, and all other civil police: And likewise of founding, erecting, and instituting a senate of justice, places, and colleges of justice, senators of council and session, members thereof, for the administration of justice within the said country, and other places of justice and judicature: Further, of erecting and appointing secret and privy councils and sessions for the public good and advantage of the said country, and giving and granting titles, honours, and dignities to the members thereof, and creating their clerks and members, and appointing seals and registers with their keepers: And, also of erecting and instituting officers of state, a chancellor, treasurer, comptroller, collector, secretary, advocate or attorney general, clerk or clerks, register and keepers of the rolls, justice clerk, director or directors of chancery, conservator or conservators of privileges of the said country, advocates, procurators, and pleaders of causes, and solicitors, and agents thereof, and other members necessary: And, likewise,

likewise, of gathering, collecting, and appointing meetings and assemblies of ecclesiastical persons and prelates, as well general, special, or provincial meetings as others, for ecclesiastical police and discipline, and authorizing, ratifying, and confirming the said meetings, councils, and assemblies, with acts, statutes, and decrees thereon concluded, for the better authority of the same: Further, we have made, constituted, and appointed, and by our present charter, make, constitute, and appoint the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, our and our heirs and successors Lieutenants General, to represent our royal person, as well by sea as by land, of all and whole the said country and lordship of New Scotland, as well during the space in which he shall remain there, as on his or their voyage to the said country, or from it, and for ever, after their return, without interval of time or place, excluding all others from the usurpation thereof, or from a claim to any right, benefit, authority, and interest within the said bounds and lordship of New Scotland, or to any judicature or jurisdiction heretofore in virtue of any foregoing or subsequent right or title whatsoever: And with special power to the said Sir William Alexander, and his forefairs, of governing, ruling, punishing, and pardoning all our subjects, and other inhabitants of the said bounds and country of New Scotland, or persons going thither, violators of the peace, or of the laws, and of making, sanctioning, and establishing laws there, as well civil as criminal, with laws of justiciary, admiralty, stewardship, regality, and sheriffship, at their good pleasure, provided the said laws be as conformable as possible to the laws of Scotland, respect being had to circumstances,

circumstances, place, country, persons, and their qualities: And, likewise, of appointing rulers, commanders, and heads of all and fundry the foresaid cities, boroughs, ports, naval stations, and harbours, and also captains of castles, fortalices, and fortresses, as well by sea and near the shore as by land, well and sufficiently provided, appointed, and fortified with troops of soldiers and forces, for the maintenance, defence, and preservation thereof, and the repelling of all domestic as well as foreign invasions of the same; and of gathering, assembling, and making all the inhabitants of the said country meet together, for the purpose before written, on all necessary occasions, and for the repelling and resisting of all other force and violences whatsoever: And with power to the said Sir William Alexander, and his foresaids, for the better fortifying of the said lordship and country of New Scotland, of transporting from the said kingdom, and other bounds convenient, all forts of munitions, great and small, greater ordnance, cannons, demi-cannons of cast-iron, swords, guns of brass and iron, and other instruments and engines of war, with small guns, commonly called muskets, hagbuts, half haggis, pistols, powder, balls, and other necessary provision and arms, as well offensive as defensive, and wearing and using such arms, as well within the said country of New Scotland, as in their passage and progress to the said lands, or from them, with their companions, associates, and dependants: Also we, with advice foresaid, have made, constituted, and appointed the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, heritably, our Justices General, in all criminal causes, within the said country and lordship of
New

New Scotland, High Admiral, and Lord of Regality and Admiralty, within the said country, hereditary High Steward, also, thereof, and of all and sundry such regalities, with power to him and his heirs and assignees, of using, exercising, and enjoying all and sundry the foresaid jurisdictions, judicatures, and offices, with all and sundry privileges, prerogatives, immunities, and casualties thereof, in like manner, and as freely as any other Justice or Justices General, High Stewards, Admirals, Sheriffs, or Lords of Regalities, had or can have, or possess, and enjoy the said jurisdictions, judicatures, offices, dignities, and prerogatives, in any of our kingdoms, bounds, and dominions whatsoever; with power to the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, of constituting, erecting, nominating, and creating clerks, officers, macers, appraisers, and all other members of court of all and sundry the foresaid judicatures and jurisdictions respectively, with all fees, dues, and emoluments thereto belonging, as shall seem to them expedient; without prejudice always to all other infeftments, rights, or dispositions, by us, or our predecessors, to whatsoever person or persons, who are or shall be portioners of the said plantation of New Scotland, proceeding upon the resignation of the said Sir William Alexander only, and not otherwise, of whatsoever parts or portions of the said country and lordship of New Scotland, with the privileges and immunities mentioned in their infeftments: And seeing by reason of the great remoteness and distance of the said country and lordship of New Scotland, from our said ancient kingdom of Scotland, both that the said country can neither easily nor conveniently

conveniently be reached except in the summer time; and that the said country is altogether destitute of public scriveners and notaries, requisite for taking seifins, so that seifin, at all times, cannot conveniently be taken on the ground of the said country; and also, respect being had to the great and manifold disadvantages which may result, by default, of timely seifin being taken upon this present Patent, and upon other charters, and similar infeftments granted, and to be granted, of the foresaid lands and lordship of New Scotland, or any part thereof: Therefore, that this, our present charter, may be more effectual, and that seifin thereupon may be more conveniently taken, it is necessary that seifin of all and sundry the foresaid lands of the said country and lordship of New Scotland be taken within our said kingdom of Scotland, and on the grounds and lands of the same, in the most eminent place thereof, which can neither conveniently nor lawfully be done without an express union of the said country and lordship of New Scotland to the said kingdom of Scotland: Wherefore, and for the advantage and readier convenience of the aforefaid seifin, we, with advice foresaid, have annexed, united, and incorporated, and by our present charter, unite, annex, and incorporate with our said kingdom of Scotland all and sundry the foresaid country and lordship of New Scotland, with the teinds and teind sheaves thereof included, and all and sundry parts, pertinents, privileges, jurisdictions, and liberties of the same, and others generally and specially above mentioned; and by our present charter, will, declare, decern, and ordain that one seifin, now to be taken at our Castle of Edinburgh, as the most eminent

eminent and principal place of our said kingdom of Scotland, of all and fundry the said lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland, or any part of the same, with teinds and teind sheaves thereof included, respectively, is, and shall be sufficient seisin for all and whole the foresaid lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland, with the teinds and teind sheaves thereof included, or any part of the said lands and country afore said, and all the privileges, jurisdiction, and liberties thereof respectively, and others specially and generally above mentioned, notwithstanding the said lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland are far distant, and lie discontiguous from our said kingdom of Scotland; as to which, we, with advice and consent foresaid, have dispensed, and by our present charter for ever dispense; without prejudice and derogation always to the said privilege and prerogative granted to the foresaid Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, of making and establishing laws, acts, and statutes, concerning all and fundry the foresaid lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland, as well by sea as by land: And by our present charter we declare that notwithstanding the said union (which is declared to be granted solely for the advantage and convenience of seisin) the said country and lordship of New Scotland shall be judged, ruled, and governed by the laws and statutes made, and to be made, constituted, and established by the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, relating to the said country and lordship of New Scotland, in like manner, and as freely, in that respect, as if the said union had never been made, or hitherto granted: And further, notwithstanding the
the

the foresaid union, it shall be lawful to the foresaid Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, to give, grant, and dispone any parts or portions of the said lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland, heritably belonging to them, to and in favour of whatsoever persons, their heirs and assignees, heritably, with the teinds and teind sheaves thereof included, (provided they are our subjects) to be holden of the said Sir William Alexander, or of us, and our successors, either in blench farm, few farm, or in ward and relief, at their pleasure; and to entitle and denominate the said parts and portions by whatsoever styles, titles, and designations shall seem to them fit, or be in the will and option of the said Sir William, and his forefairs, which infeftments and dispositions shall be approved and confirmed by us or our successors freely, without any composition to be paid therefor: Moreover, we, and our successors, shall receive whatsoever resignations shall be made by the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, of all and whole the foresaid lands and lordship of New Scotland, or of any part thereof in our hand, and (those) of our successors and Commissioners foresaid, with the teinds and teind sheaves thereof included, and others generally and specially above mentioned, to and in favour of whatsoever person or persons (provided they are our subjects, and live under our obedience): And they shall pass infeftments thereon, to be holden in free blench farm, of us, our heirs and successors, in manner above mentioned, freely, without any competition; which lands, country, and lordship of New Scotland, with the teind sheaves thereof included, and all and fundry parts, pendicles and pertinents,

pertinents, privileges, jurisdictions, prerogatives and liberties of the same, and others, specially and generally above mentioned, together with all right, title, interest, claim of right, petitory, as well as possessory, which we, or our predecessors or successors, had, have, or any way could have, claim, or pretend thereto, or to any part of the same, or to the mails, farms, profits and duties thereof, of whatsoever years, or terms bygone, for whatsoever cause or occasion, we, with advice foresaid, for the reasons above mentioned, of new, give, grant, and dispoise to the foresaid Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, heritably for ever; renouncing and exonerating the same simpliciter, with all action and instance heretofore, competent to, and in favour of the said Sir William Alexander and his heirs and assignees, as well for non-payment of the duties contained in their original infeftments, as for non-performance of due homage, conform thereto, or for non-fulfilment of any point of the said original infeftment or for commission of any fault or deed of omission or commission prejudicial thereto, and whereby the said original infeftment may, in any way, be lawfully impugned or called in question, for ever acquitting and remitting the same simpliciter, with all title, action, instance and interest, heretofore competent, or that may be competent to us, and our heirs and successors, renouncing the same *simpliciter jure lite et causa cum pacto de non petendo*, and with supplement of defects, as well not named as named, which we will to be held, as expressed in this our present charter. To be holden in free blench farm, as said is, and dispensing with non-entry, whensoever it shall happen, in manner foresaid: Moreover,
we,

we, for us and our successors, with advice foresaid, give, grant and commit power to the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, of having and lawfully establishing and causing to be coined current money, in the said country and lordship of New Scotland, and for the readier convenience of commerce and bargains amongst the inhabitants thereof, of such metal, form, and fashion as they shall design or appoint; and for this effect we give, grant and commit to them, or their heirs and assignees, Lieutenants of the said country, the privileges of coining money with iron instruments, and with officers necessary for that purpose: Further, we, for us and our successors, with advice foresaid, have given, granted, ratified, and confirmed; and by our present charter, give, grant, ratify, and confirm to the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, all places, privileges, prerogatives, pre-eminences, and precedencies whatsoever, given, granted, and reserved, or to be given, granted, and reserved to the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs and assignees, and his successors, Lieutenants of the said country and lordship of New Scotland, over the Knights Baronets, and remanent portioners, and associates of the said plantation, so as the said Sir William Alexander, and his heirs-male descending of his body, as Lieutenants foresaid, shall and may take place, prerogative, pre-eminence, and precedence, as well before all esquires, lairds, and gentlemen, of our said kingdom of Scotland, as before all the foresaid Knights Baronets, of our said kingdom, and all others, before whom the said Knights Baronets, in virtue of the privilege of dignity to them, can have place and precedence,

precedency, for the advancement of which plantation and colony of New Scotland, and in respect of it especially, the said Knights Baronets were, with advice foresaid, created in our said kingdom of Scotland, with their state and dignity, as a special token of our favour conferred upon such gentlemen, and honourably born persons, portioners of the foresaid plantation and colony; with this express provision always, that the number of the foresaid Baronets never exceed one hundred and fifty. Finally, we, with advice foresaid, for us, our heirs and successors, will, discern, and ordain that this our Patent and investment, with all its contents, be ratified, approved, and confirmed in our next Parliament of our kingdom of Scotland; and that it may have the force, strength, and effect of an act, statute, and decree of that supreme judicatory, as to which we, for us and our successors, declare and ordain this our present charter to be a sufficient warrant to the Lords of the Articles of our said Parliament, for the ratification and confirmation thereof, in manner before written: Moreover to our lovites . . . and each of you, conjunctly and severally, our Sheriffs in that part, especially constituted, greeting: We charge and command you, that ye give and deliver to the foresaid Sir William Alexander, or his certain Attorney, bearer of these presents, heritable state and seisin, as well as corporal, actual, and real possession of all and whole the foresaid lands, country and lordship of New Scotland, with all and sundry parts, pendicles, privileges, commodities, immunities and others, generally as well as particularly above expressed, at our said castle of Edinburgh, without delay; and this in no wise ye leave undone: Which

Which to do we commit to you, and each of you, conjunctly and severally, our Sheriffs in that part foresaid, our full and irrevocable power by our present charter; which feisin we, with advice foresaid, for us and our successors, by our present charter will, declare, and ordain to be as lawful and sufficient, as if precepts of feisin, separately and ordinarily, to that effect had been directed out of our Chancery, upon our said charter, as to which we, with advice foresaid, for us, our heirs and successors, have dispensed, and, by our present charter, for ever dispense. In witness whereof, we have ordered our Great Seal to be appended to this our present charter, the witnesses being our well-beloved cousins and councillors, James, Marquess of Hamiltoun, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord Aven and Innerdaill, &c.; William, Earl Marishall, Lord Keith, &c., Marishall of our Kingdom; our beloved councillor, Sir George Hay of Kinfanes, Knight, our Chancellor; our well-beloved cousin and councillor, Thomas, Earl of Melros, Lord Bynning and Byres, our Secretary; our beloved familiar councillors, Sir Richard Cokbourne of Clerkintoun, Keeper of our Privy Seal; Sir John Hamiltoun of Magdalens, Clerk of our Rolls, Register and Council; Sir George Elphinstoun of Blythwode, our Justice-Clerk; and Sir John Scott of Scotistarvet, Director of our Chancery, Knights, at our Palace of Otlands, the 12th day of July, anno Domini 1625, and the first of our reign.





ROLL
OF THE
KNIGHTS BARONETS OF NEW SCOTLAND
*Who had Territorial Grants from Sir William
Alexander, Kt., Earl of Stirling.*

1625.		
May 28.	Sir ROBERT GORDOUN, Knight, son of the late Alexander Earl of Southerland	1
„ 28.	WILLIAM, EARL MARISCHALL, LORD KEITH, &c.	19
„ 28.	ALEXANDER STRACHAN, of Strachan.	
„ 29.	Sir DUNCAN CAMPBELL, of Glenurquhie, Knight, &c.	46
„ 29.	ROBERT INNES, of Innes.	49
„ 29.	Sir JOHN WEYMIS, of Weymis, Knight.	50
„ 30.	DAVID LIVINGSTOUN, of Donnepace or Donypace	20
„ 30.	Sir WILLIAM DOUGLAS, of Glenbervie, Knight	20
July 14.	Sir DONALD MAKDONALD, of Slett, Knight	72
„ 19.	Maister RICHARD MURRAY, of Cockpuill	22
	Aug. 30.	

NOTE. — The numbers affixed to the names refer to the pages of a book in the General Register House, Edinburgh, containing Precepts of Charters to the Knights Baronets of New Scotland. The following title is on the back: “Regist. Precep. Cart. pro Baronettis Nov. Scotiæ.” The names having no references are given on the authority of former lists.

Some of the precepts are included in the “Register of the Great Seal,” and

also in the “Register of Signatouris in the Office of Comptrollerie,” but others seem not to have been registered. See *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts*, Edinburgh, 1867, pp. 120–123.

The ROLL was prepared by the distinguished antiquary and scholar David Laing, LL.D., of Edinburgh, and was printed for the Bannatyne Club, and is introduced into this volume with his permission.

Aug.	30.	JOHN COLQUHOUN, of Lufs	21
"	31.	Sir ALEXANDER GORDOUN, of Clunie, Knight . . .	22
Sept.	1.	JOHN LESLIE, of Wardes	23
"	2.	JAMES GORDOUN, of Lefmoir.	24
"	3.	GILBERT RAMSAY, of Balmayne	23
Nov.	17.	Sir GEORGE FORRESTER, of Corstorphine, Knight. .	67
Dec.	28.	ERSKINE.	
"	28.	Sir WILLIAM GRAHAME, of Braco, Knight	65
"	28.	PATRICK HUME, of Polwarth.	
1626.			
March	30.	WILLIAM FORBES, of Monymusk	24
"	31.	GEORGE JOHNSTOUN, of Caskibene.	25
April	21.	Sir THOMAS BURNET, of Leyis, Knight	25
"	22.	JOHN MONCREIFF, of Moncreiff	27
"	24.	GEORGE OGILVIE, of Carnowfie	26
May	1.	ROBERT GORDOUN, of Lochinvar.	
June	1.	Sir WILLIAM MURRAY, of Clairmounth, Knight . .	27
July	18.	Sir JOHN BLAKADER, of Tullialline, Knight. . . .	28
Sept.	29.	Sir JOHN OGILVIE, of Innerquharatie	45
1627.			
March	18.	Sir DONALD McKYE, of Strathnaver, Knight . . .	57
"	28.	Sir JAMES MAXWELL, of Calderwood, Knight . . .	68
April	18.	JAMES STEWART, second lawful son of Alexander Earl of Galloway	74
May	2.	Sir ARCHIBALD NEPAR, of Merchiftoun, Knight . .	45
June	25.	JOHN LEVINGSTOUN, of Kinnaird	47
July	4.	WILLIAM CUNNYNGHAME, of Cunnyngamehead . .	48
"	17.	JAMES CARMICHAELL, of Westerraw	77
"	19.	Master JAMES MAKGILL, of Cranstounriddell . . .	49
"	20.	GEORGE OGILVIE, of Banff	48
Oct.	18.	SAMUEL JOHNSTOUN, of Elphinstoun	59
Nov.	21.	WILLIAM COCKBURNE, apparent of Langtoun . . .	63
Dec.	13.	COLIN CAMPBELL, of Lundie in Angus	54
		JAMES CAMPBELL, of Aberuchill.	

1628.

Jan.	1.	Sir ARCHIBALD ACHISONE, of Clancairnny, Knight .	73
"	10.	SANDILANDS.	
"	10.	Sir ROBERT MONTGOMERIE, of Skelmurlie, Knight .	61
"	12.	JAMES HALIBURTON, of Pitcur.	
"	12.	DUGALD CAMPBELL, of Auchinbreck	60
"	14.	Master DONALD CAMPBELL, of Ardnaturachane . .	61
Feb.	19.	Master THOMAS HOPE, of Craighall, King's Advocate	51
"	22.	Sir JAMES SKENE, of Curriehill.	
"	22.	Sir JOHN PRESTOUN, of Airdrie, Knight	70
"	22.	ALEXANDER GIBSON, of Durie.	
May	14.	JOHN CRAWFORD, of Kilbirny.	
"	14.	JOHN RIDDELL, of Riddell	62
"	15.	Sir ARCHIBALD MURRAY, of Blackbarronie, Knight .	58
"	16.	Sir PATRICK MURRAY, of Elibank, Knight	66
"	21.	CADELL.	
"	21.	Sir JOHN MCKENZIE, of Tarbet, Knight	63
June	20.	Master WILLIAM ELPHINSTOUN, Cupbearer to his Majesty	66
Sept.	29.	ROBERT BARR.	
"	29.	Captain ARTHUR FORBES, of Castle Forbes (Longford).	59
"	29.	FRANCIS HAMMILTON, of Killach (Down)	59
Oct.	2.	ANDREW STEWART, Lord Castlestewart (Tyrone). EDWARD (BARRETT) Lord of Newburgh	62

1629.

June	26.	WILLIAM BRUCE, of Stanehouse	64
July	27.	Master JOHN NICOLSONE, of Lefwade	65
"	27.	MICHAEL ARNOT, fear of Arnot	68
"	28.	Master JAMES OLIPHANT, of Newtoun	64
"	28.	Sir PATRICK AGNEW, of Lochnew, Knight	66
"	28.	Sir WILLIAM KEITH, of Ludquharne, Knight . . .	68
Nov.	30.	CLAUDE ST. ESTIENNE, Seigneur de la Tour.	

1630.

March	31.	Sir ROBERT HANNAY, of Mochrum, Knight	92
		April 20.	

April	20.	WILLIAM FORBES, of Cragivar	70
"	18.	JAMES LORD STEWART, of Ochiltrie. (Cancelled before being recorded.)	
"	24.	Sir PEIRS CORSBIE, Knight, one of the Privy Council in Ireland, and WALTER CORSBIE, of Corbie Park (Wicklow), and the heirs male of either	74
May	12.	CHARLES ST. ESTIENNE, Seigneur de St. Denis Court.	
July	24.	JAMES SIBBALD, of Rankelour	69
Oct.	2.	WILLIAM MURRAY, of New Dunearn.	
Nov.	13.	ROBERT RICHARDSONE, of Pencaitland	69
"	25.	JOHN MAXWELL, of Pollock.	
"	25.	DAVID CUNNYNGHAM, of Robertlandis	71
1631.			
March	5.	Sir HENRY WARDLAW, of Pittrevie, Knight	71
June	2.	JAMES SINCLARE, of Caniesbie, son lawful of Sir Wil- liam Sinclare of Catboll, Knight	72
"	18.	JOHN GORDOUN, of Kanbo	73
Sept.	3.	LACHLAN McLEANE, of Morvaren	74
1633.			
Dec.	22.	Sir JAMES BALFOUR (of Denmilne), Knight, Lyon King at Armes	88
"	23.	DAVID CUNNYNGHAME, of Auchinhervie	77
1634.			
June	7.	PHILBERT VERNATE, of Casletoun (in Yorkshire), Knight	78
"	7.	Captain HENRY BINGHAME, of Castlewar (in County Mayo in Ireland)	80
"	7.	Colonel HECTOR MONRO, of Foullis	80
June	7.	ALEXANDER FOULLES, fear of Colingtoun	81
1635.			
Jan.	6.	JAMES HAMMILTOUN, of Broomehill	81
(June	8.)	Sir JOHN GASCOIGNE, of Barnbow, in regionem Or- caden (the date left blank)	82
"	18.	WALTER NORTOUN, of Chestone in the County of Suffolk	83
			June 29.

June	29.	ARTHUR PILKINGTON, of Stainlie in the County of York	83
Sept.	26.	EDWARD WIDDRINGTON, of Cairntington, Northumberland	84
Dec.	10.	JAMES HAY, of Smithfield	84
"	19.	MARIA BOLLES, of Osburtone in the County of Nottingham, widow, and her heirs male and assignees	84
"	19.	JOHN RANEY, of Rotham alias Rutam, in the County of Kent.	85
1636.			
Feb.	17.	JOHN FORTESCUE, of Salden in the County of Buckingham	86
"	20.	THOMAS THOMSONE, of Dudingstoun	86
June	17.	JOHNE BROWNE, of Neale (Mayo).	
"	18.	EDWARD MOIR, of Longfuir in the County of Nottingham.	86
"	18.	ALEXANDER ABERCROMBY, of Birkenbog.	
"	18.	JOHN SINCLARE, of Stevinstoun	87
"	18.	JOHN CURZON, of Kedlestone in the County of Derby	87
Sept.	13.	JOHN RANY, of Rotham (see 1635, Dec. 19)	88
Nov.	21.	GEDIAN BAILZIE, of Lochend	89
1637.			
Jan.	16.	Master THOMAS NICHOLSON, of Carnock	89
March	13.	Master GEORGE PRESTON, fear of Valafeild	89
July	31.	ANDREW KER, of Greinheid	91
1638.			
March	2.	HENRY SLINGSBIE, of Skriiven in the County of York	91
"	24.	THOMAS PEIR, of Stanypittis in the County of Kent	91
Dec.	17.	EDWARD LANGUELL, of Wolwerdin in the County of Buckingham	93
(Two blank precepts, names and dates not supplied)			92

NOTE.—It may be observed that only a part of those who obtained charters took feisin, or, in other words, went through the proper legal form of taking possession of their baronies, which could be done either in New Scotland or at Edinburgh. Of this class Sir Thomas Banks designates forty-one, while he records the names of seventy-three whose charters were followed by feisin.



CHARTER

IN FAVOR OF

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, KNIGHT,

Of the Country and Lordship of Canada in America,

2 FEBRUARY, 1628-9.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith. To all good men of his whole land, clergy and laity, Greeting: Know ye, that we, being perfectly mindful by what engagement our faithful and well-beloved Councillor, Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, Knight, our Principal Secretary for our kingdom of Scotland, and Hereditary Lieutenant of our country and dominion of New Scotland, in America, has sustained great charges and expenses in his various undertakings, in the providing of ships, engines of war, ordnance and munitions, in the conducting of colonies; as also, in exploring, settling and

NOTE.—This translation is taken from the Appendix to a narrative of Law Proceedings privately printed at Edinburgh in 1836. No revision has been made except that “New Scotland” is introduced instead of “Nova Scotia,” wherever the Latin form occurs.

and taking possession of the said country; and whereby, he, and our other subjects, who alongſt with him were to find a ſettlement in the ſaid country, might be aſſiſted for the further diffuſion of the Chriſtian religion, in thoſe parts of our dominions, its propagation therein, and the expected revealing and diſcovery of a way or paſſage to thoſe ſeas, which lie upon America on the weſt, commonly called the South Sea, from which the head, or ſource of that great River or Gulf of Canada, or ſome river flowing into it, is deemed to be not far diſtant; and ſince by the example already exhibited by the ſaid Sir William in the exploring and ſettling of the ſaid country of New Scotland, terminating at the foreſaid Gulf and River Canada, he has propoſed eſtabliſhments by him in thoſe parts of the plantation, which ſeem to be favourable for the propagation of the ſaid religion, and tending only to the great honour and profit of our ancient kingdom of Scotland, whence it may come to paſs that the ſaid colonies to be planted by him and his ſucceſſors, may by this means, in proceſs of time, diſcover the foreſaid way or paſſage to the ſaid ſeas, much hitherto, for very weighty conſiderations, deſired and ſo often by various perſons undertaken. Therefore, and for exciting the more earneſt reſolutions of the ſaid Sir William, his heirs, aſſignees, portioners and aſſociates, to further progreſs in ſuch and ſo great an enterpriſe, we, with the ſpecial advice and conſent of our very faithful and well-beloved Couſin and Councillor, John, Earl of Mar, Lord Erſkine and Gareoch, our High Treafurer, Comptroller, Collector and Treafurer of our new augmentations of our kingdom of Scotland; our faithful
and

and well-beloved Councillor, Archibald, Lord Naper of Merchingstoun, our deputy in the said offices, and the remanent Lords of our Privy Council; our Commissioners of our said kingdom of Scotland; have given, granted, and disposed, and, by our present charter, give, grant, and dispose to the foresaid Sir William Alexander, his heirs and assignees, heritably, for ever, all and fundry islands within the Gulf of Canada, lying between New Scotland and Newfoundland, at the mouth and entrance of the great river Canada aforesaid, where it falls and enters into the said Gulf (including therein the great island Anticosti). Also, we have given, granted, and disposed, and, by our present charter, give, grant, and dispose to the before-named Sir William Alexander, all and fundry islands, lying within the said river Canada, from the said mouth and entrance, up to the head, fountain, and source thereof, wheresoever it be, or the lake whence it flows, (which is thought to be towards the Gulf of California, called by some the Vermilion Sea,) or within any other rivers flowing into the said river Canada, or in whatsoever lakes, waters, or arms of the sea, through which either the said great river Canada, or any of the said other rivers pass, or in which they discharge themselves. And further, we have given and granted, and by our present charter give and grant to the foresaid Sir William, and his forefairs, fifty leagues of bounds, on both sides of the foresaid river Canada, from the said mouth and entrance, to the said head, fountain, and source thereof; also on both sides of the said other rivers flowing into the same; as also, on both sides of the said lakes, arms of the sea, or waters, through

through which any of the faid rivers have their courfe, or in which they terminate; and, in like manner, we have given and granted, and, by our prefent charter, give and grant to the forefaid Sir William Alexander, and his forefaids, all and whole the bounds and paffages, as well in waters as on land, from the forefaid head, fountain, and fource of (the river) Canada, wherefoever it is, or from whatfoever lake it flows, down to the forefaid Gulf of California, whatfoever the diftance fhall be found to be, with fifty leagues altogether on both fides of the faid paffage, before the faid head of (the river) Canada, and Gulf of California; and likewise, all and fundry iflands lying within the faid Gulf of California; as alfo, all and whole the lands and bounds adjacent to the faid Gulf, on the Weft and South, whether they be found a part of the continent or main land, or an ifland (as it is thought they are) which is commonly called and diftinguifhed by the name of California. Moreover, we have given and granted, and, by our prefent charter, give and grant, and for us and our fucceffors, with advice and confent forefaid, perpetually confirm to the forefaid Sir William Alexander, his heirs and affignees whatfoever, heritably, all and fundry other lands, bounds, lakes, rivers, arms of the fea, woods, forefts, and others that fhall be found, conquered or difcovered, at any future time, by him or his fucceffors, their partners, affociates, or others in their name, or having power from them, upon both fides of the whole bounds and paffages forefaid, from the mouth and entrance of the faid river Canada, where it difcharges itfelf into the faid Gulf of Canada, to the faid Gulf of California,

fornia, or the iflands in the feas thereto adjacent, which are not yet really and aétually poffeffed by others, our fubjects, or the fubjects of any other Chriftian Prince, or conftituted Orders in alliance and friendfhip with us, with full and abfolute power to him the faid Sir William Alexander, and his forefaids, (and to no others,) their ftewards, fervants, and others in their name, of eftablifhing colonies, and engaging in commerce, in the before-named places or bounds, or any part of them particularly defigned, and of expelling or debarring all others from the fame: alfo, of leafing out proportions of the lands thereof, to whatfoever perfon or perfons fhall feem to him fit, and on the fame terms, conditions, reftrictions, and obfervances, within all the before-named bounds, as he can do in New Scotland, by whatfoever Charters or Patents granted to him by our late deareft father or by ourfelves: Alfo, with fuch, and as great privileges and immunities, in all the forefaid places, or bounds, iflands, and others above written, as well in the fea and frefh water, as on land, as the faid Sir William Alexander has in New Scotland, by his prior Charters or Patents of New Scotland, dated at

which privilege contained in the faid prior charters, and every one of them, we ordain to be equally fufficient and valid, and altogether of the fame ftrength, force, and effect, as if each had been herein, word for word, particularly, and by itfelf, granted and expreffed; as to the not particular infertion of which herein, we, for us and our fucceffors, have difpenfed, and, by our prefent charter, for ever difpenfe; declaring alfo, as we, with advice and confent
forefaid,

forefaid, ordain and declare, for us and our fucceffors, that this our prefent Charter or Patent fhall in nowife be prejudicial or derogatory to whatfoever rights, Charters, or Patents, granted to the forefaid Sir William Alexander or his forefaids, of, or concerning New Scotland, at whatfoever time preceding the date of thefe prefents, or to any head, claufe, article, or condition, therein expreffed, as alfo fhall be, without prejudice, to any prior charter granted by us ere now, or to be granted at any time to come to whatfoever Baronets within Scotland, of the country of New Scotland; prohibiting and forbidding all and fundry our fubjects, of whatfoever degree or condition, wherefoever, in our kingdoms or dominions, to make any plantation, or engage in any commerce in the faid places or bounds, gulfs, rivers, lakes, iflands, and arms of the fea above written, or in any part thereof, without the fpecial advice, permiffion, and confent of the forefaid Sir William Alexander, or his forefaids; and with fpecial power to the faid Sir William Alexander, and his forefaids, of feizing, arrefting, and apprehending all and fundry perfons, who fhall be found to be in trade, and engaged in commerce in any part of the faid places or bounds, contrary to this prohibition, and of confiscating their fhips and goods, and difpofing thereof at pleasure, to their own proper ufes, without rendering any count or reckoning in any manner, for the fame, or any part thereof; and of doing all other things within all and whole the before-named bounds or fpaces, as freely and fully, to all intents, purpofes, and inftructions, as the forefaid Sir William Alexander and his forefaids could have done, or
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can do within the said country of New Scotland, or our said kingdom of Scotland, in virtue of any of the said letters-patent, prior Charters or Patents: To be holden, and to hold all and whole the before-named lands, spaces or bounds, islands, and others, generally and particularly expressed, with their fundry privileges, immunities, and commodities whatsoever, generally and particularly, above mentioned, by the foresaid Sir William Alexander and his foresaids, of us and our successors, of the Crown and our kingdom of Scotland, in free blench farm for ever, by all their right, meiths, old and divided, as they lie in length and breadth, in houses, buildings, thickets, plains, muirs, marshes, roads, footpaths, waters, pools, rivulets, meadows, grazings, and pastures; mills, multures, and their sequels; fowlings, huntings, fishings, peat ground, turf grounds, coals, coal pits, rabbits' warrens, pigeons, dovecots, forges, kilns, breweries, and broom woods, groves and shrubs, buried trees, timber, quarries, stone, and lime; with courts and their dues; herezelds, fines, and raids of women; with common pasturage, and free ish and entry; and with all other and fundry liberties, commodities, profits, easements, and just pertinents thereof whatsoever, as well not named as named, under ground as above ground, far and near, belonging, or which may justly belong, in any manner, for the future, to the foresaid lands, with the pertinents, freely, quietly, fully, entirely, honourably, well and in peace, with gibbet, ditch, suit, liberty of pleas, toll, power of having servants, forestry, sea wreck, ware, waif, venison; jurisdiction over thieves taken within and without the liberties; pit and gallows, without any impediment, revocation

revocation, contradiction, or obstacle whatsoever; paying therefor yearly, the said Sir William, and his forefairs, to us and our successors, one penny, Scots money, upon the ground of the said lands, or any part thereof, at the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord, in name of blench farm, if asked only; which whole and entire fore-named lands, spaces or bounds, islands and others, generally and particularly, above expressed, as said is, we, with the special advice and consent foresaid, for us and our successors, have erected and united, and, by our present charter, erect and unite into one entire and free lordship for ever, to be called of Canada, heritably belonging and pertaining to the before-mentioned Sir William Alexander, and his forefairs: Also, we, by our present charter, are graciously pleased, that whensoever the said Sir William Alexander, and his forefairs, or any of them, shall wish and desire this our present charter to be renewed, with all and sundry beneficial clauses and conditions, as in the said prior charters or patents of New Scotland, or as he, his forefairs, or any of them, on consultation of counsel, or by any special examination towards the further or more certain discovery of the said places or bounds, rivers, lakes, arms of the sea, or passages, and others above mentioned, shall see to be more advantageous and expedient, then, and in that case, we, on the word of a prince, promise, that we will renew and alter the said charter to the foresaid Sir William Alexander and his forefairs, in the best and most ample form that can be conceived: Moreover, we, by our present charter, with advice and consent foresaid, discern, declare, and ordain, that seisin to be taken by the said Sir William

William Alexander, or his forefaids, at our Castle of Edinburgh, as the most eminent and principal place of our said kingdom of Scotland, or upon the soil and ground of the forefaid lands, bounds, and islands, or any part thereof, at the pleasure and will of the said Sir William, and his forefaids, shall in all time coming, be sufficient for all and whole the before-named lands, bounds, islands, and others above specified, or any part or portion thereof; and that the heirs of the forefaid Sir William, and his forefaids, may be seised in all and sundry the before-named lands, bounds, islands, and others forefaid, by precepts out of either the chancery of our said kingdom of Scotland, or the chancery to be instituted by the said Sir William, and his forefaids, in the aforefaid country and lordship of Canada, as they incline, or also as their heirs can be seised, by their said prior grants in New Scotland, as to which we, with advice and consent forefaid, for us and our successors, have dispensed, and by our present charter, for ever dispense, and as to all and sundry the before-named privileges and others, generally and particularly above mentioned: And further, we have made and constituted, and, by our present charter, make and constitute,

and any of them, conjunctly and severally, our bailies in that part, giving and granting our full power and special warrant to them, and any one of them, for giving, granting, and delivering to the forefaid Sir William Alexander, and his forefaids, or to their certain attorneys, holding or producing this our present charter, heritable state and seisin, as well as actual, real, and corporal possession of all and sundry the

the before-named lands, bounds, rivers, lakes, islands, arms of the fea, or passages, and others whatsoever, generally and particularly above expressed, of the said country and lordship of Canada, at our said Castle of Edinburgh, or upon the soil and ground of any part of the foresaid lands and bounds, or places, or in both manners, at the pleasure of the said Sir William Alexander, and his foresaids, commanding them, and any one of them, that, on sight of these presents, they, or any one of them, forthwith give and deliver heritable state and seisin, as well as actual, real, and corporal possession of all and sundry the before-named lands, places or bounds, islands, rivers, lakes, and others foresaid, generally and particularly above expressed, to the foresaid Sir William Alexander, and his foresaids, or to their certain attorneys, holding or producing this our present charter, upon any part of the ground of the said lands, or at our Castle of Edinburgh, or in both manners, as shall appear to him and his foresaids best, by delivery of earth and stone to the foresaid Sir William Alexander, and his foresaids, or to their attorneys, holding or producing this our present charter at the said Castle, or upon the soil and ground of the said lands and others above written, or in both manners, as the said Sir William, and his foresaids, incline, which seisin so to be delivered by our said bailies in that part to the foresaid Sir William, and his foresaids, or to their attorneys, holding or producing this our present charter, we, for us and our successors, decern and ordain to be good, lawful, valid, and sufficient in all time coming, dispensing, as we, by our present charter dispense, as to all that can be objected against the

the same, whether in form or in effect. Lastly, we, for us and our successors, with advice and consent foresaid, will, decern, declare, and ordain this our present charter, with all and fundry privileges, liberties, clauses, and conditions, above mentioned, to be ratified, approved, and confirmed, in our next Parliament of our kingdom of Scotland, or in any other Parliament of the said kingdom hereafter to be holden, at the will and pleasure of the said Sir William Alexander, and his foresaids, and to have the strength, force, and effect of a decree of that supreme court, which to do, we, for us and our successors, will and declare our said charter, and clauses therein contained, to be a sufficient mandate or warrant, promising, on the word of a King, that the same shall be so done and performed. In witness whereof, we have ordered our Great Seal to be appended to this our present charter, the witnesses being, as in others (charters), our cousins and councillors, James, Marquess of Hamiltoun, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord Aven and Innerdaill, William, Earl Marishal, Lord Keyth, &c., Marishal of our Kingdom, George Viscount of Duplin, Lord Hay, of Kin-fawins, our Chancellor, Thomas, Earl of Hadingtoun, Lord Bynning and Byres, &c., Keeper of our Privy Seal, our beloved familiar councillors, Sir William Alexander, of Menstrie, our principal Secretary, Sir James Hamiltoun, of Magdalenis, Clerk of our Rolls, Register, and Council, Sir George Elphinstoun of Blythfode, our Justice Clerk, and Sir John Scot, of Scottistavett, Director of our Chancery, Knights, at our palace of Whythall, the 2d day of February anno Domini 1628, and the third of our reign.



PATENT

IN FAVOR OF

WILLIAM LORD ALEXANDER,¹³³

Of the County of Canada and of Long Island in America,

BY THE COUNCIL FOR THE AFFAIRS OF NEW ENGLAND,

APRIL 22, 1635.

TO all Christian people vnto whom theis presents shall come The Councell for the Affairs of New England send greetinge in our Lord God everlastinge. Whereas our late Souraigne Lord Kinge James of blessed memory by his highnes Letters Patente vnder the greate Seale of England, bearing date att Westminster the Thirde daye of November in the eighteenth yeare of his Ma^{ties} raigne ouer his highnes Realme of England, for the confideration in the said Letters Patente expressed and declared hath absolutely given graunted and confirmed vnto

¹³³ William, Lord Alexander, was the eldest son of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. See *antea*, pp. 111, 112. For a synopsis of this Patent, which appears to be preserved in a copy engrossed on parchment, see *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 204. This Patent is here reprinted from the Collection of the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1867, pp. 89-91.

vnto the said Counsell and their successors for euer all the lands of Newe England in America lyinge and beinge in breadth from fortie degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctiall lyne to fortie eight degrees of the said Northerly latitude inclusiuelye and in length of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the maine land from Sea to Sea. Together alsoe with all the firme lands, foyles, groundes, havons, ports, rivers, waters, fishinges, mynes, and mineralls, as well Royall mynes of Gold & Silver as other mynes and mineralls pretious stones quarries and all and singular other commodities jurisdictions royalties preuiledges, franchises, and preheminences both within the said tracte of land vpon the Maine and alsoe within the Islands and Seas adjoininge (as by the said Letters Patents amongst diuers other things therein conteyned more att large it doth and may appeare) Now Knowe all men by these presents that the said Counsell of New England in America beinge assembled in publique Courte, accordinge to an acte made and agreed vpon the thirde day of february last past before the date of theis presents for diuers good causes and considerations them herevnto especially moveinge haue given, graunted, aliened, bargayned, and sold And in and by theis presents doe for them and their Successors giue, graunt alien bargain sell and confirme vnto the right honorable William Lord Alexander his heires and assignes, All that part of the Maine Land of Newe England aforesaid beginninge, from a certaine place called or knowne by the name of Saint Croix next adjoininge to New Scotland in America aforesaid and from thence extendinge alonge the sea coast vnto a certaine place

place called Pemaquid, and soe vpp the Riuer therof to the furthest head of the same as it tendeth Northwarde and extendinge from thence att the nearest vnto the Riuer of Kinebequi and soe upwards alonge by the shortest course which tendeth vnto the River of Canada ffrom henceforth to be called and knowne by the name of the Countie of Canada.¹³⁴ And allsoe all that Island or Islands heretofore comonly called by the feuerall name or names of Matowack or Longe Island and hereafter to be called by the name of the Isle of Starlinge situate lyinge and beinge to the westward of Cape Codd or the Narohiganlets within the latitude of ffortie or fortie one degrees or thereabouts abuttinge vpon the Maineland betweene the two Rivers there knowne by the severall names of Conectecutt and Hudsons Riuer and conteyninge in length from East to West the whole length of the Sea Coast there betweene the said two Rivers.

Together

¹³⁴ At the last meeting of the Council for New England, according to the fragment of their records now extant, held on 1 November, 1638, an addition was made to this grant to Lord William Alexander; and, thus augmented, the whole was granted to the Earl of Stirling, the father of Lord Alexander. The addition to this grant comprised the territory lying between the waters of Pemaquid, extending to their source, and the Kennebec or Sagadahock. By reference to the records of the Council, it will be seen that in the division of their territory among themselves, agreed upon on the 3d February, 1634-5, six of the grantees were to have ten thousand acres each on the east of the river Sagadahock. These sixty thousand acres were undoubtedly expected to be taken in the area between Pemaquid and the Kennebec, a territory which had hitherto

been unappropriated. By the action taken at the last meeting of the Council referred to above, it would seem that the claim of the six proprietors was either withdrawn or ignored, and the whole was included in the share appropriated to the Earl of Stirling. After the death of the Earl, it was apparently forgotten, or at least not included in any new patent comprehending the whole. When Henry, the fourth Earl of Stirling, sold, in 1663, this grant to the Duke of York, the "augmentation" does not appear to have been included, otherwise it would have been comprised in the patent granted by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, in 1764, which was not the case. — *Records of the Council for New England*, Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc. 1867, pp. 114-118, 131; *Documentary History of New York*, Vol. II. pp. 295-298.

Together with all and singular havens, harbours, creekes, and Islands, imbayed and all Islands and Iletts lying within five leagues distance of the Maine beinge opposite and abuttinge vpon the premises or any part thereof not formerly lawfully graunted to any by speciall name And all mynes mineralls quarries, soyles and woods, marishes, rivers, waters, lakes, ffishings, hawkinge, huntinge and ffowlinge and all other Royalties Jurisdeccions, priviedges, prehementes, proffitts, commodities and hereditaments whatfoeuer with all and singular there and euery of their appurtenentes. And together alfoe with all Rents reserued and the benefitt of all proffitts due to them the said Counsell and their Successors and precincts aforefaid to be exercised and executed accordinge to the Lawes of England as neere as may be by the said William Lord Alexander his heires or assignes or his or their Deputies Lieutenents, Judges, Stewards, or officers therevnto by him or them or their assignes deputed or appointed from time to time with all other priviledges, franchises, liberties, immunities, escheates, and casualties thereof arising or which shall or may hereafter arise within the said limite and precincts, with all their intrest right title claime and demand whatsoever, which the said Councell and their successors, now of right have or ought to have or claime or may haue or acquire hereafter in or to the said portion of Lands or Islands, or any the premises and in as free ample large and beneficiall manner to all intents constructions and purposes what so euer as the said Councell by vertue of his Ma^{ties} said Letters Patent may or can graunt the same: Saueing and allwayes referuinge vnto the said Councell and their Successors power to receaue heare and determine

determine all and singular appeale and appeales of euery person and persons whatsoever dwellinge or inhabitinge within the said Territories and Islands or any part thereof soe graunted as aforefaid of and from all judgements and sentences whatsoever given within the said lands and Territories aforefaid To haue and to holde all and singular the lands and premises aboue by theis presents graunted (excepte before excepted) with all and all manner of proffitts commodities and hereditaments whatsoever within the lands and precincts aforefaid to the said lands, Islands and premises or any of them in any wise belonginge or apperteyninge vnto the said William Lord Alexander his heires and assignes To the only proper use and behoofe of him the said William Lord Alexander his heires and assignes for euer To be holden of the said Councell and their successors, per *Gladium Comitatus*, that is to say by findeinge foure able men conveniently armed and arrayed for the warre to attend vpon the Governor of New England for the publique seruice within ffourteene dayes after any warninge given; yieldinge and payinge vnto the said Councell and their Successors for euer one fift part of all the . . . are of the mynes of gold and silver which shalbe had possessed or obteyned within the limitte or precincts aforefaid for all rents seruices dueties and demaunds whatsoever due vnto the said Councell and their successors from plantacion within the precincts aforefaid The same to be deliuered vnto his Ma^{ties} Receiver or deputie or deputies Assignes . . . to the use of his Ma^{tie} his heires and successors from . . . the Lands precincts and Territories of New England aforefaid . . . the two and twentie day of [April, 1635] and 11th yeare of the Raigne.



THE PRINCE SOCIETY.





THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — This Society shall be called (in honor of the Rev. Thomas Prince, one of America's most learned Historians and Antiquaries) THE PRINCE SOCIETY; and it shall have for its object the publication of rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America.

ARTICLE II. — The officers of the Society shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and a Treasurer, who together shall form the Council of the Society.

ARTICLE III. — Any person may become a member by agreeing to purchase of the Society its publications as they are issued, at rates to be fixed by the Council; and said membership shall be forfeited by a refusal to purchase the Society's issues, or may be terminated by resignation, all works issued being paid for before such resignation.

ARTICLE IV. — The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, which shall keep a faithful record of its proceedings, and report the same to the Society annually at its General Meeting in May.

ARTICLE V. — On the anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Thomas Prince, namely, on the twenty-fifth day of May in every year,

year, a General Meeting shall be held at Boston, in Massachusetts, for the purpose of electing officers, hearing the report of the Council, auditing the Treasurer's account, and transacting other business.

ARTICLE VI. — The officers shall be chosen by the Society annually, at the General Meeting; but vacancies occurring between the General Meetings may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VII. — As often as the profits from the publications accumulate so as to warrant it, a volume, or volumes, shall be issued and delivered gratuitously to every person then a member of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII. — By-Laws for the more particular government of the Society may be made or amended at any General Meeting.

ARTICLE IX. — Amendments to the Constitution may be made at the General Meeting in May by a three-fourths vote, provided that a copy of the same be transmitted to every member of the Society at least one month previous to the time of voting thereon.



C O U N C I L.



RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. THE Society shall be administered on the mutual principle, and solely in the interest of American history.

2. Members may be added to the Society from time to time on the recommendation of any member of the Society and a confirmatory vote of a majority of the Council.

3. A

3. A volume shall be issued as often as practicable, but not more frequently than once a year.

4. An editor of each work to be issued shall be appointed, who shall be a member of the Society, whose duty it shall be to prepare, arrange, and conduct the same through the press; and as he will necessarily be placed under obligations to scholars and others for assistance, and particularly for the loan of rare books, he shall be entitled to receive ten copies, to enable him to acknowledge and return any courtesies which he may have received.

5. All editorial work and official service shall be performed gratuitously.

6. All contracts connected with the publication of any work shall be laid before the Council in distinct specifications in writing, and be adopted by a vote of the Council, and entered in a book kept for that purpose; and, when the volume is completed, its whole expense shall be entered, with the items of its cost in full, in the same book.

7. The price of each volume shall be a hundredth part of the cost of the edition, or as near to that as conveniently may be, and there shall be no other assessments levied upon the members of the Society.

8. A sum, not exceeding six hundred dollars, may be held by the Council as a working capital; and when the balance in the treasury shall exceed that sum, the excess shall be divided, from time to time, among the members of the Society, by remitting either a part or the whole cost of a volume, as may be deemed expedient.

9. All moneys belonging to the Society shall be deposited in the New England Trust Company in Boston, unless some other banking

banking institution shall be designated by a vote of the Council, and said moneys shall be entered in the name of the Society, subject to the order of the Treasurer.

10. It shall be the duty of the President to call the Council together whenever it may be necessary for the transaction of business, and to preside at its meetings.

11. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to authorize all bills before their payment, to make an inventory of the property of the Society during the month preceding the annual meeting, and to report the same to the Council, and to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

12. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to issue all general notices to the members, and to conduct the general correspondence of the Society.

13. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a complete record of the proceedings both of the Society and of the Council in a book provided for that purpose.

14. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to forward to the members bills for the volumes as they are issued, to superintend the sending of the books, to pay all bills authorized and indorsed by at least two Vice-Presidents of the Society, and to keep an accurate account of all moneys received and disbursed.

15. No books shall be forwarded by the Treasurer to any member until the amount of the price fixed for the same shall have been received, and any member neglecting to forward the said amount for one month after his notification shall forfeit his membership.



OFFICERS
OF
THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

President.

JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M. BOSTON, MASS.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, A.M. . . . BOSTON, MASS.

THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, A.M. . . BOSTON, MASS.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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